

ROMAN HOUSEHOLD RELIGION

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**DECLARATION**

The thesis which follows, on the subject of 'Roman household religion',  
has been composed by me and represents my own work.

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## PREFACE

My interest in the area of classical studies with which this thesis is concerned was first aroused by a course of lectures on 'The family in antiquity' given by Mr. W.K. Lacey, then University Lecturer in Classics at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. It is to him that I owe the suggestion that ancient sacra priuata as a whole stood in need of investigation and that they would form a suitable subject for the PhD thesis I was at the time contemplating embarking upon.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisors in the Department of Humanity of the University of Edinburgh, Professor Ian M. Campbell and Dr. Peter G. Walsh, who guided me considerately and patiently through my long years of study and writing. My gratitude is also due to the University itself for supporting me financially in the initial years with a generous studentship, which enabled me amongst other things to visit Pompeii and Ostia Antica in search of traces of Roman household religion.

In addition I should like to express my sincere thanks to my father, Mr. Kenneth Wellesley, for his unfailing interest and advice, to my husband for his support and forbearance, and to Mrs. Patricia Young, who typed the thesis and its mass of notes with extreme care and attention to detail.

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The subject is examined against the background of basic questions concerning the importance of private religion to the Romans, the extent to which it was native, the sacredness of the house-building, the manner in which the family operated as a unit and the differing religious roles of members of the family. The house is shown to have had certain sacred areas from which animistic and anthropomorphic divinities gradually evolved to become the objects of household cult. The utensils and other paraphernalia of cult, the nature of offerings and of ordinary ritual are then examined together with the religious suitability of the human participants. A demonstration follows of the unity of the family (both excluding and including its attendant slaves), under its male head, in the civic and religious spheres, of the consequent importance of its continued existence and of the unifying elements of its private cult. The functions of the men, women, children and slaves within it are then severally examined according as their sex and sexuality, birth and civic status affected their general religious status. The paterfamilias is found to have been responsible for all major changes to the family's structure, for upholding its traditional sacra privata and for conducting major festivals, while the other members performed supporting roles; the wife had a special function as child-bearer. In practice slaves apparently shared in household cult, any exclusion from it being due to their not technically forming part of the Roman family. Private Romans of every category are seen to have enjoyed considerable opportunities for personal piety. Finally, answering the questions posed at the beginning enables certain, more detailed, conclusions concerning Roman household religion to be drawn.

Roman religion in general, and in this case household religion, is a subject of such complexity and infinity that one can take it up at any starting point and relate any part of it to any other part. Although this makes it difficult to begin, it also forms much of its fascination. Not only that, but the subject is wide-ranging and of extreme intrinsic interest. We study the private religion of a people, the people themselves and their ideas both well-formulated and ill-conceived, their memories of their past and their attempts to understand that past.

That is a first reason for undertaking this research, that it is interesting in itself. But one has to have the justification of adding something new to knowledge of our Roman heritage. In fact this subject has not been fully and properly treated since the turn of the century, when the only standard work, A. De Marchi Il culto privato di Roma antica<sup>1</sup> was published. Much has indeed been written about various aspects of Roman household religion, and a few short accounts of the topic as a whole have appeared, such as the well-balanced chapter by H. J. Rose in Ancient Roman religion<sup>2</sup>. But there is certainly need for a new drawing-together of all the evidence which has so far been found and for a new interpretation in English.

Lack of space has forced me to narrow somewhat the scope of the subject, so that many of the country rites pertaining to private religion have been left out of account, as have also many of those areas of personal religious activity which took a man out of the house. Also omitted are other types of private religion, Eastern religions, such as Mithraism or Christianity, which later became dominant. What is to be considered is the older, traditional,

more Roman, household religion, what everyone normally regards as household religion, that concerned with the family and the Lares and the Penates, that religion whose origins the Romans attributed to the kings and the period of the early republic, and which continued into later times in scarcely altered forms, which in fact is more fascinating, because more remote and more forgotten and more complicated. This earliest, if we can ever say 'earliest', stratum of religion is also most likely to be indigenous. However it is scarcely possible to separate Italian elements from those due to Greek or other outside influence, since a community does not have to be far advanced before it is susceptible to outside contact and the influence of stronger or more advanced cultures. Obviously Etruscan and Greek ideas influenced Italian from very early times.

Ancient evidence almost limits the geographical scope of the thesis to Rome, especially in the earlier period of the republic, when the city had not yet acquired an empire or even the rest of Italy. To a lesser extent it sheds light on the religion of Italy. Evidence from the provinces is comparatively scant, and often hybrid, and therefore not very illuminating to the study of ancient types of cult.

Chronologically it is necessary to concentrate on the first century BC and the first century AD, on the central classical period in fact. The evidence gives the best picture of Roman household religion during the Augustan age. However we know a fair amount about the later fate of the traditional household religion, which did not change much after the Augustan revival, although it gradually faded out. And we do have much ancient speculation about the origins of gods and of cult practices, and relics of the latter still embodied

in rites of the central classical period, which the Romans tried, and we still try, to interpret. Modern research in archaeology and anthropology is helpful here, so that at times we can understand more about the early Romans than the Romans themselves.

Lack of space and the multifarious nature of the material have forced me to exclude all but the briefest consideration of rites for the dead and of the cults of the dead, whether ancestral and benevolent, or external and hostile. I offer in additional excuse the fact that death and everything to do with it has already been adequately treated, for example by F.Bömer in Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom, F.Cumont in Lux perpetua and recently by Jocelyn M.C.Toynbee in Death and burial in the Roman world .

My method has been of course to use ancient evidence primarily, and modern interpretations to a secondary degree. Ancient literary evidence falls into two categories. The first is afforded by the chance allusions of poets, dramatists, historians and other prose writers, such as Cicero or Seneca, to practices in their own age or the recent well-remembered past; these can on the whole be taken on trust, when some allowance is made for poetic distortion, for example in the case of Juvenal, and for actual ignorance. The second is provided by historians, like Livy, writing about the distant legendary past, by writers like Ovid or Plutarch supplying interpretations of, and explanatory myths for, religious practices that were obscure in their own time, by antiquarians such as Varro or Festus trying to be informative about the past, and by Christian writers, who sometimes misunderstood, perhaps wilfully, ancient rites. It is obvious that less direct evidence such as this must be used with greater caution.

In the second place there is the evidence of inscriptions.



Naturally these give us the hard facts of ancient life, but as isolated instances: they cannot be used for generalisations. Since a certain amount of money must have been required to set up an epitaph or a dedication, no doubt it was the less poor of Roman society who did so. Many inscriptions must have been lost. Therefore the epigraphic collections now in existence are not representative of the whole of Roman society, still less of Italian society. My own selections from CIL and ILS are perforce haphazard. Thus every statement based on epigraphic evidence must be qualified.

Thirdly, other hard facts of ancient life are afforded by archaeological sites, or at least in descriptions of excavations and finds. M.Bulard in La religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos and other books describes the private altars and religious paintings discovered in the Roman colony on Delos. These date from the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century BC, and are good evidence for cult, particularly that attaching to the Compitalia, carried on in Roman fashion, albeit on a Greek island. It is very fortunate for us that Pompeii was buried intact by the eruption of AD 79 in that we possess thus preserved an exact and complete picture of the visual side of Roman household cult for that period. All the shrines and lararium paintings discovered by 1937 have been collected and described in some detail by G.K.Boyce in Corpus of the lararia of Pompeii : this is the standard archaeological reference work for household religion. Unfortunately Ostia was not ruined suddenly but decayed much more slowly. Most of the remains there date from the second and third centuries AD and later, when the traditional household religion had largely given way to Mithraism and other eastern religions, and during which time

many alterations were made to houses and shrines. The result of this is that the evidence is scantier and much less clear. Such as it is, I have collected it myself. Otherwise occasional relevant finds scattered about the empire, details of which are collected in Fasti Archeologici , can be used as examples of household cult in the provinces.

Among works by modern scholars, apart from that by De Marchi, K.Latte Römische Religionsgeschichte is now the standard reference book for Roman religion in general. A book that is of great value for the most ancient festivals is of course W.Warde Fowler The Roman festivals of the period of the republic ; another concerned mainly with ancient cult practice and also etymologies, but which must be treated cautiously, is G.Radke Die Götter Altitaliens . As an aid to understanding the basic concepts of early religion R.B.Onians The origins of European thought is invaluable, while much illumination is to be gained also from H.Wagenvoort Roman dynamism .

These then are the sources, ancient and modern, which have, I hope, enabled me to say a few new things and to add my personal interpretations of the many facets of an old subject.



The study of Roman religion is fascinating. The study of its gods and spirits, of its ritual, of its underlying assumptions, which lead us far back to the forgotten past, of the ideas expressed by intelligent Romans about it, enlightens us, interests us and helps us fully to realise half-realised truths. Indeed, in Wagenvoort's words, here truly 'we enter into an electro-dynamic land of enchantment'<sup>1</sup>, worthy of a life's work.

So fascinating is it that one is tempted to lose oneself in detail. But before one begins one should perhaps stand back and consider it as a whole. It is not enough to dwell lovingly on all the strange relics of magic and early cult, all the idiosyncrasies of the household divinities and all the arguments both ancient and modern about their origins and 'real' natures. And the more one looks, the more there is to find. Such attention to detail would pass over in silence various basic assumptions made by the Romans themselves and contemporary Greeks and also by ourselves. So in an attempt to arrive at the concepts which gave rise to Roman household religion as it was in the classical period, one should seek to formulate questions which in turn might lead to some sort of helpful answers. In this way, by keeping certain questions in the mind during a study of the detail, we may hope to sharpen our understanding of that religion, of the people who lived in the midst of it, and by comparison or contrast, of humanity in general.

It might well be asked why this particular bit of the religion of a society should be singled out. Is it helpful, or even possible, to use the limit of the household? Modern western Europeans have, or perhaps we should say 'had' in this second half of the twentieth

century, little enough that might be labelled 'household religion'. Christianity is largely personal and communal. It is scarcely connected with either the house-building or the family unit: its place is in the Christian's heart and in his prayers, and in public worship with a standard theology. Are we to suppose then that the pagan religion of Italy, which Christianity supplanted with the help, one might argue, of Mithraism and other eastern religions such as that of Isis, was so different? The answer is, of course, in the affirmative: one cannot read Latin or contemporary Greek literature without seeing clearly that the religion of ancient Rome was indeed very different from anything our modern civilisation may be used to. We read too often of sacra priuata and of the importance to the Romans of maintaining them to doubt that household religion did exist as such. So this is a question that need not be asked and to which the answer may be presumed.

Again one might ask why it should be studied, even if it did exist and flourish. If a few of us still think it interesting and instructive to learn about ancient civilisations, of what import could this small area of religion (of all things) possibly be? After all religion matters little to most people in the west nowadays, even if they practise some of its outward forms. We know too much about scientific, medical and psychological subjects to be afraid of the unknown future, we rely too much on ourselves and on people we admire to have need of divine help, and we seek inspiration in places quite other than those inhabited by any gods, in music for example. Moreover the state no longer needs the support of the church in order to function adequately. But for the Romans of any age things were quite different. They did have much to be afraid of, they did seek

divine aid, and many of their actions and their creative works were motivated by religious or quasi-religious ideas. They knew religious awe. Religion also helped the state to function. Religion was therefore important to the Romans. If it is worthwhile to study their civilisation, then it is also worthwhile to study their household religion, for it forms part of the whole and contributes to it. The first question to bear in mind throughout this thesis would then be: how important was household religion to the Romans of the classical period? How far did they feel the need to practise their private cults, and before what gods and with what purpose did they do so? And what made them fit to practise them, how did they do, so to speak, their own private priesthods?

The possibility, or indeed the inevitability, of Greek influence on Roman religion is often insisted upon by modern scholars, and was so too by ancient writers such as Plutarch. In their efforts to find explanations for mysterious rites and myths and practices that were no longer understood they would resort to the idea that such rites came from Greece, the supposed source of all good things to Rome, or else would make direct comparisons with Greek rites which they imagined to be similar. Certainly it is obvious that a city like Rome, which in the first place only gained mastery over its neighbours during a long period, and then, when it was in control, became the centre of a huge empire, would have been subject to every possible external influence, from the Etruscans, the Sabines and the other surrounding peoples of Italy, from Magna Graecia, and then directly from Greece, the eastern provinces and all parts of the empire. For it is beyond dispute that Rome was both tolerant and receptive. Therefore one must consider to what extent Roman

household religion really was Roman and native, and how far it underwent changes due to influences from outside. This is perhaps the same question as enquiring how ancient it was, how far back there were families practising their own sacra and possibly preserving them exactly as they were. Along with this one might try to interpret and assess Roman attitudes to, and understanding of, their religious past in all its half-forgotten, disputed or altered complexity.

To turn from the general to the particular, what justification is there for limiting the subject with the word 'household'? The Roman household comprised the citizen family, its slaves and probably a number of its freedmen too, all living in the same house. One might well suspect that the physical house-building was regarded, in the most primitive times, as a sacred enclosure which encircled and protected the family, the hearth and the sacra within its limit, and that any break in the barrier, such as those formed by doors and perhaps windows, was susceptible to the entry of evil influences and conversely might be the seat of various protecting powers. In addition to this there might well be sacred areas and holy objects inside the house, as well as vague divine presences or numina and anthropomorphic representations of the gods. What one would like to know is, firstly, what evidence there is for the idea that the house-building and some of its contents were sacred and, secondly, how far the classical Romans were conscious of this idea.

The extent to which the house was filled with magic will be considered. It is perhaps pertinent at this point to suggest that attempts to distinguish magic from true religion are probably vain and indeed a waste of time. For it is surely the case that magic

is the religion of an earlier age, when the workings of a fearful and mysterious universe were even less comprehended: there seems little to choose between magical rites practised to gain a desired end and religious rites performed for the same reason, except that religion has a clearer idea of the divine recipient of its rites. Some of what was dismissed or mocked by the classical Romans as magic must have been relics of the primitive religious practices of their ancestors. This is not to imply that every piece of eccentric superstition must be looked at. What is to be studied is what was taken to be religion by most sensible, normal Romans, as far as this can be ascertained; it is interesting and instructive to look back also at their past with its earlier modes of magic or religion.

In the house lived the family. All its members, the wife, the children, unmarried female relatives, daughters of marriageable age, sometimes sons with their wives, the slaves, and perhaps some freedmen and freedwomen too, might live together in the same house under the headship of the paterfamilias, the 'head of the household'. Although the legal power of the paterfamilias may have waned gradually throughout the Roman period with the passage of time and the growing civilisation of society, and although it may have been weakened also by his particular circumstances, such as when he married a wife independent of him, emancipated a son or manumitted a slave, he was still in classical times the head of the family unit. We do not know how ancient the family was as a civil unit at Rome. It appears to be old, prior even to the gentes, which gradually came into existence from families as they branched and developed. If this was so, it is no wonder that the Roman state and the whole ethos of



Roman society tended towards the preservation of one of its original units. Not only did the continued existence of families of the standard pattern give stability to the state at large; by maintaining themselves they kept more-or-less intact their property; their name, the cult of their dead, and their own sacra. In earlier times at least the paterfamilias had judicial power over his family: thus in his own sphere he fulfilled the judicial duty of the state by himself and in his own person. If families were preserved, alliances through marriage could be made, legitimate sons and daughters be produced to continue in a similar way to serve themselves and society. The need to maintain the family unit gave rise to the importance of adoption, marriage, adultery and the cult of the dead; these in turn emphasised the importance of the family in the state. If we relate this line of thought to religion, we find that we must examine the question of the link between the family as a civil unit and the maintenance of its sacra privata. How far was the family esoteric in its cults? With what justice could we claim that the Roman family clung to the religious practices and the objects of worship of its own past, and for what purpose did it do so?

As well as examining the cohesion of the Roman family and the extent to which the continuity of its sacra encouraged this concept, one has to remember that the family was not just a unified whole with the paterfamilias at its head, a body which always acted together in religious matters. It had members, and although these members were assistants to the paterfamilias in rites carried out for the benefit of all, no doubt this was not their only religious function. Firstly it is possible that even in this communal worship the individual had his own distinct role, different from that of the other members. One would have to discover what his role was and how it related to his

natural position in the family, his biological relationship to others, his age and his sex; and indeed also whether his role was linked in any way to his civil status outside the home. Secondly it is possible that there were areas of household religion not directly connected with the family as an entity but rather with the needs of the individual. This might be the case with some of the major events of home life which naturally affected one member of the family more than the others. These more personal functions would need to be distinguished and examined also. Therefore the last question to be asked in the hope of finding a significant answer is one concerning the various religious roles of the different members of the household.

Throughout this study I shall try continually to keep in mind the questions formulated above and with their help to assemble some sort of basic ideas about Roman household religion from a more detailed examination of many of its aspects, particularly with reference to the people who practised it, rather than by using the nature of the gods and their cults as a starting-point. If we succeed in answering these questions about the importance of their household religion to the Romans themselves, about its preservation in a pure form from remote antiquity, about the sacredness of the house-building and its contents, about the relationship between the family unit and its ancestral cult, and about the religious functions of the individuals within it, if we find some answer to these questions as far as is possible so long afterwards, we shall have gained, I hope, a greater understanding of Roman religion, Roman thought and the ways of mankind.

Most people love their homes. The Romans were no different from the rest of mankind in this respect. It was in the expectation of their sympathy, as well as on his own behalf, that Cicero addressed these words to all Romans in his speech De domo sua: quid est sanctius, he asked, quid omni religione munitius quam domus unius cuiusque ciuium?<sup>1</sup> What could be more sacred than one's home? And not only that, but the house contained almost all a man held most precious, holy and dear, his hearth and the whole of his household religion: hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic di penates, hic sacra, religiones, caerimoniae continentur.<sup>1</sup> The house was also a refuge, the place where one belonged: in Cicero's words, hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the coming of the Roman bride from one house to her second home, from one family to another, was one of the most important features of a Roman wedding. These things were true, evidently, for the sophisticated Romans of the classical period.

How much stronger, we suppose, must they have been in the past, when the world appeared the more mysterious and fearful. Lord Raglan's book The temple and the house shows that the sacredness of the house was an old Indo-European idea. Although it was probably less ancient than concepts of the special sacredness of the temple or of the king's house, the religious ideas and ways of the most important elements in society must gradually have spread downwards to ordinary people in their ordinary homes. In some parts of the world the grand palace or temple was thought to be so important that during building a victim was sacrificed and buried under it or immured in it, no doubt in order to increase its magical strength and efficacy. Traces of this practice can be found in some fairy



stories. However there was no memory of it among the Romans.

The house was of course a physical shelter for its inmates. But it was much more than that. In the prehistoric period it must have been imagined as a magic circle, a limit or barrier which surrounded and protected everything within it and kept out all kinds of evil.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a universal idea. It was natural that any break in the enclosure should be of special importance; for through it evil influences, spells, ghosts of the unhappy dead might be able to enter and wreak havoc inside. Ovid, for example, narrates the legend of Proca,<sup>3</sup> who as a baby was attacked by monstrous birds that came in through the window, the sort of creatures which in superstitious belief flew about at night on the watch for unguarded babies. Then again a magic rite might be performed after the birth of a child in the house in order to keep out Silvanus, the spirit of the untamed wild:<sup>4</sup> three men went round all the thresholds hitting them with an axe and a pestle and sweeping them with a broom. Fear of the hostile, wandering dead also existed. At the ancient festival of the Lemuria one could follow a primitive rite involving beans and clashing bronze to chase Lemures from the house.<sup>5</sup> And in addition the fear of haunted houses also indicates how the simpler sort of people thought that spirits of the dead might get in and fill a dwelling with terror.<sup>6</sup>

However there is little other Roman evidence for the idea that the walls of the house formed a barrier through whose gaps evil might enter. Rather they regarded the house in a more positive way, as a special place which had at all costs to be kept free of pollution. The pollution most to be feared was of course that of death. If someone died in the house, the building was funesta,<sup>7</sup> contaminated, until the corpse was removed and buried and someone, the heir, or

a lictor even, ritually swept the contamination out of the house with a broom and purified it again with the holy substances, salt and far,<sup>8</sup> or with special plants.<sup>9</sup> There followed feriae demicales, after which period the house would be quite free of pollution.<sup>10</sup> Moreover a special sacrifice of two wethers was ideally made to the Lares, the gods of the house, to rid them of the pollution also;<sup>11</sup> and outside were placed branches of suitable evergreen trees, like spruce or cypress, as an indication of pollution, so that people who had to avoid all contamination, and priests in particular, would know to keep away.<sup>12</sup> We might add that the corpse was laid out in the house before burial with its feet towards the door:<sup>13</sup> this was supposed to prevent the soul from returning into the house. Fear of the pollution of death went to extremes, for if a man who was away from home were reported dead and then in fact returned alive he was still polluted and could not be permitted to harm the house by entering at the door but had instead to come in by the roof.<sup>14</sup> This is of course not merely a Roman fear, but one that is general in less sophisticated societies. It is interesting to remember that the Romans in common with other peoples were in the habit of burying their dead well away from their homes,<sup>15</sup> often in necropoleis or along roads outside towns. And although they normally regarded their dead ancestors as part of the family, in a more primitive and physical sense they wanted no actual contact with them.

In some parts of the world people have thought that the birth of a baby in the house made it impure, but there is no Roman evidence of this idea either in the historic period or as a memory of the past.<sup>16</sup>

The doorway itself, as being the entrance to the house, was of

special importance, in different ways at different periods. It seems originally to have been a holy, worshipful object in itself, and in its parts, the doorposts and the threshold.<sup>17</sup> Like strange stones fallen from heaven or like awesome groves of trees, the doorway too possessed numen and aroused some sort of religious awe in those who came near. For example, by the classical period we find that the ingredients of spells were supposed to be more efficacious if put under or on the threshold, like the sticks of incense employed by Ovid's quack priestess at the Feralia or like Daphnis' pignora in Vergil.<sup>18</sup> In the same way all sorts of amulets and prophylactic objects at the doorway worked wonders against outside spells, poison and other evils.<sup>19</sup> In the legend of Proca the nymph Crane protected the child and kept out the monsters by touching the doorposts and the threshold with arbutus and sprinkling them with water;<sup>20</sup> and we have already noticed the threshold rite which was on occasion carried out after a birth. Obviously more educated Romans were not so credulous; but these few facts about magical practice must be an indication of a much more widespread belief in such things in earlier times.

There does however seem to have been a general feeling that nearness to the door was somehow better. Shrines were sometimes placed near the door inside, or outside, as in the Roman colony on Delos;<sup>21</sup> images of the gods or of one's ancestors often had a place near the door - even Vesta having some association with the entrance;<sup>22</sup> - suppliants might stand at, or kneel on, the threshold instead of the altar.<sup>23</sup> Oscilla might be hung outside the door at the Compitalia for the same reason.<sup>24</sup> It was a bad omen if you stumbled over the threshold: so you could try stepping over with your lucky right

foot,<sup>25</sup> and brides were usually lifted over to avoid all mishap on this most important occasion in their lives.<sup>26</sup> We need not imagine that many people thought of the real reason for this superstitious practice, that reason being presumably that the numen of the threshold was damaged by a careless foot and would not be favourable therefore to the entrant: they no doubt acted out of habit. In addition those who were leaving the house for a long time or for ever might bid farewell to the door.<sup>27</sup>

So it seems that superstitions about the door and the feeling that it was proper to have sacred things near it were vestiges of an early belief that the door itself was powerful and to be worshipped. We can then interpret the various decorations that they applied to the door as being originally offerings to the door itself. When the new bride smeared the doorposts of her husband's house with fat and attached white wool to them;<sup>28</sup> when the family fixed laurel greenery and garlands round the door on a happy occasion such as the birth of a baby or a wedding;<sup>29</sup> when they lit lamps near it;<sup>30</sup> when it became the custom to display laurels and a corona ciuica on the emperor's door;<sup>31</sup> they were making what would once have been offerings to the door, to increase its numen. But there is nothing to indicate that they thought any differently about such practices from the way we should do now, namely that they were merely doing the right and accustomed thing.

In the same way we may see in the decoration of the whole house, as of the door, a memory of offerings accorded to it as a holy thing in the distant past. On festive occasions the house was cleaned, as one might expect, and polished,<sup>32</sup> hung with greenery<sup>33</sup> and lit with lamps<sup>34</sup> and filled with newly-gleaming silver vessels.<sup>35</sup>

Not only were the house in general and the doorway in particular thought to be imbued with numen, or at least to be somewhat sacred, but a number of the things enclosed by them were of the utmost holiness. Perhaps the chief of these sacra was the hearth. Obviously in a civilisation where fire was not so easily created, as was the case in early Italy, and was perhaps still so - to a degree - in the classical period, it was useful to keep such a necessity of life going as long as possible.<sup>36</sup> But it is clear that fire was not only a material necessity: it was also, and above all, thought of as sacred and divine. There is plenty of evidence for this;<sup>37</sup> in any case it seems eminently reasonable and likely when we remember how the early Romans saw numen in everything mysterious, wonderful and full of power. For this kind of reason an ever-burning fire was tended in the temple of Vesta, and was indeed equated with the fortune of the city of Rome; moreover it was extinguished and relit in ritual manner on a most significant date, 1 March, the first day of the ancient Roman year.<sup>38</sup> At home it was a bad omen if the fire went out,<sup>39</sup> and on festal days it would be specially built up to blaze well in propitious fashion.<sup>40</sup> The divinity of fire was manifest in other ways. According to legend heroes like Romulus and Remus,<sup>41</sup> Caeculus<sup>42</sup> and Servius Tullius<sup>43</sup> were begotten by divine beings or sexual organs arising in the fire at the hearth or by a spark from it: this indicates that fire was believed so wondrous as to have generative power. In legend too divine fire might render the mortal immortal if he were immersed in it: stories told how attempts were made to immortalise in this way Triptolemus<sup>44</sup> and Achilles.<sup>45</sup> And haloes of fire seen playing round the heads of the great, like Servius Tullius<sup>46</sup> or Iulus,<sup>47</sup> as of gods, were

a sign of the presence of divine power in them. By the same reasoning shooting stars would be interpreted as portents heralding divine births and the like.<sup>48</sup> No doubt there were many Romans of Cicero's time who did not firmly believe these things, but the idea that fire contained a divine power evidently had general acceptance.

The household fire that was both useful and sacred would, in the primitive or small dwelling, have been kept burning on a central hearthstone.<sup>49</sup> But in later, more elaborate and larger homes the sources of heat must have multiplied.<sup>50</sup> There were ovens or portable stoves in the kitchens and private bakeries attached to rich houses, and in bars; a variety of portable braziers and tripods made of earthenware or bronze, many of which were elegant works of art and some of which were also fitted with lids and covers, were moved about the house from room to room for use as necessary. All these fires were regarded as sacred in some sense, wherever they were and to whatever use they were put; in addition we commonly find a second sacred area in the kitchen of the house. But there is nothing to indicate that the Romans of the classical and later periods selected and used only one as the special, sacred focus of their household cult. Seemingly they simply used whatever was convenient at any time: the important thing was that there should be some sort of 'hearth' for the rites, and a special one was not needed. Religious wall-paintings at Delos and Pompeii show stone altars blazing with painted flames. So permanent altars apparently served as hearths also. A hollow in the top of the altar received fire and offerings; and a number of Delian paintings show that the altar could be covered by a sort of curved lid.

Thus any fire in a Roman house would be thought sacred in a vague way, in that it was fire, and especially the hearthfire which



happened to be used in religious ceremonies, wherever it was within the house. The Romans put many of their offerings into the fire, for the household gods, as they said. However our knowledge of early Roman religious thought suggests that these too were originally offerings to the divine fire itself: the meal-time offering of food,<sup>51</sup> garlands, fruits of the earth and victims on feast days,<sup>52</sup> the wine and incense offered on a birthday,<sup>53</sup> these were all given to the fire and the flames consumed them.

So the ancient house had its areas of particular religious importance, areas that were holy themselves and had once been regarded as things of numen, namely the door and entrance, and the hearthfire. To these perhaps I might suggest that the innermost part of the house could be added, what is called penus or penetralia, what was most secret and furthest from the outside world and the stranger. We may compare the mysterious penus of the temple of Vesta, where the everlasting fire of Rome was located - and indeed in the most primitive kind of house the homely hearthfire no doubt also burned in the innermost, central part of the building - and where the Palladium and other most precious talismans of the city of Rome were kept,<sup>54</sup> hidden from almost all eyes.<sup>55</sup>

The idea of parts of the house, or of anything, being sacred and numinous in themselves belonged to an early, prehistoric period in the evolution of the Roman state. It was common to other unsophisticated societies. Modern scholarship accepts that the Latin peoples who became the Romans progressed from a state of religious consciousness where they had this belief that certain objects were possessed of divine power or numen to an animistic stage of thought. They evidently began to separate conceptually divinity from numinous object, to differentiate between the divine spirit and the place

it inhabited, formulating for themselves vague groups of divine essences or spirits or demigods, without sex and without mythology, perhaps not even capable of representation in concrete form. We are permitted to deduce this from the considerable traces of animistic groups of spirits of this kind that existed in the religion of the classical period. Moreover such groups were native Italian and peculiar to Italian thought, and not Greek-influenced.

Let us consider how this development in thought worked out in Roman household religion. First of all I would hazard that those well-known gods of the household, the Di Penates, the real and original Di Penates, gradually evolved from the sacred penus of the house into the special gods that lived there. It is obvious that their name Penates is etymologically connected with the word penus,<sup>56</sup> but there was and still is dispute as to what this word meant. On the whole it was and is defined as 'sustenance', 'everything necessary for life';<sup>57</sup> but against this we must recall the penus Vestae, which was equally well denoted penetralia, and which was no storeroom.<sup>58</sup> (Incidentally the usual expression for the storeroom was cella penaria or locus penarius.<sup>59</sup>) It seems most reasonable to connect Penates and penus with penitus and penetralia,<sup>60</sup> and to suggest that penus came to mean 'sustenance' because the latter was kept in the depths of the house.<sup>61</sup> Servius, for example, helps by saying that the Penates were so-called from the penetralia: penates appellantur, quod in penetralibus aedium coli soleant.<sup>62</sup> Other views on the etymology, for example that Penates is connected with penes nos<sup>63</sup> or the idea of potestas,<sup>64</sup> while hardly being tenable, at least tend to reinforce slightly the concept of them as gods of the inside. It is no wonder then that the Di Penates were



thought of as very private and personal, the precious and ancestral gods of one's own innermost *sacrum*.<sup>65</sup> Since they were so intertwined with the home, the word *penates* came in fact, by the Augustan age, to be used metaphorically for 'home', initially with a certain sacred aura about it,<sup>66</sup> but later as a dead metaphor merely equivalent to 'house', 'dwelling'.<sup>67</sup>

There is extremely little evidence for assuming, as many modern scholars do,<sup>68</sup> with the exception of Radke, that the Di Penates were essentially the gods of the storeroom. Bömer's theory that they were the gods of a storeroom originally separate from the house itself and that, when the storeroom and they came inside the house, they were taken over by the ancestral gods of hearth and home, the *di patrii*,<sup>69</sup> seems quite unnecessary. Firstly the Di Penates were counted as *di patrii* anyway,<sup>70</sup> and the evidence holds no implication that there ever existed a time when they were not *di patrii*. Secondly, as we have seen, *penus* does not mean 'storeroom'. The gods had some connection with food, admittedly. They were believed to be present at table, especially at meal-times,<sup>71</sup> and are spoken of in one breath with the table and the food; but this was a common feature of Roman household religion and not one exclusive to the Di Penates. Also, if the kitchen is said on occasion to be sacred to them,<sup>72</sup> that is to be explained away by the fact that the kitchen of the classical period often had its own religious area, and therefore household gods, associated with the oven. So after all we must understand the Di Penates as being a vague group of gods originating from the innermost part of the house.

True to what we know of the animistic stratum of Roman religion, uninfluenced by the clearer, anthropomorphic concepts of Greece, evidence that would indicate a definite concrete form for the Di

Penates is lacking. They were sometimes described as being small and easily held in the hand<sup>73</sup> - although the Vergilian allusions all refer to the Trojan Penates, not to the humbler gods of the ordinary household. References to their cult are vague and are equally applicable to any of the household gods.<sup>74</sup> If we turn to the public Di Penates of the city of Rome we find much confusion there. Writers of the later empire were extremely puzzled about them, but doubt as to their original nature existed long before then.<sup>75</sup> They seem to have been very old, as old indeed or older than the Aeneas legend and the religious supremacy of Alba Longa and Lavinium;<sup>76</sup> that is, they were in all probability native Italian. No-one seemed to agree on what concrete form they took. There is no suggestion however that they were abstract. According to Dionysius the Lavinian Penates were bronze and iron caducei, staffs such as heralds bore, and Trojan earthenware,<sup>77</sup> which was presumably some sort of pots. Archaeological investigation in Latium has revealed prehistoric statuettes from Alba, which could conceivably be the Di Penates,<sup>78</sup> and also prehistoric hut-urns from tombs, which might qualify likewise.<sup>79</sup> Then we hear about the mysterious doliola, which were possibly the same as Dionysius' 'Trojan earthenware': these might have represented the Di Penates, or contained them, or even perhaps been sacred to them.<sup>80</sup> Varro described the Trojan Penates as figurines made of wood, stone or clay, quaedam sigilla lignea uel marmorea,<sup>81</sup> objects that were evidently small and portable. They were apparently not the sacra that were kept safe in the temple of Vesta, in spite of the fact that Penates and Vesta were often associated.<sup>82</sup> From all this it seems clear that the Di Penates had no distinct type or art-form

of their own, but that they were some sort of small objects or figurines, although probably not anthropomorphic ones.<sup>83</sup> It would be nice to be able to say that the household Di Penates were something of the same sort, and indeed it is quite likely that they were, but since evidence is lacking it is impossible to be certain.

Another main strand of ancient speculation concerning the Di Penates supposed that they had come from the east, whether from Troy<sup>84</sup> or from Samothrace.<sup>85</sup> They were variously regarded as being equivalent to the Samothracian Di Magni or Cabiri,<sup>86</sup> or more usually to the Dioscuri. The cult of the Dioscuri was ancient in central Italy. The Roman temple of the Dioscuri was one of the oldest in the town, for it was dedicated in 484 BC. It has been suggested that an inscription dating from the fifth century BC which was found at Lavinium and which was dedicated to Castor and Pollux might indicate that the latter had assimilated the Di Penates or had at least influenced them, even at so early a date.<sup>87</sup> A later temple of the Di Penates on the Velia, which was dedicated in 167 BC and restored by Augustus,<sup>88</sup> contained statues of the Di Penates in a guise fairly similar to that of the Dioscuri;<sup>89</sup> we may also compare the representation of the Penates Publici, shown holding spears and inside a small temple, on the Ara Pacis. From the evidence of coins Peyre argues that as the portrayal of the two groups of gods was usually slightly different the two cults cannot really have been confused.<sup>90</sup> However it does seem very likely that the original, native Di Penates were so vague and ill-defined that they were susceptible very early in Roman history to the influence of gods from outside and the east, be they Trojan, Samothracian or Greek, each of whose cults and whose representation in plastic form interacted on the others<sup>1</sup> and provided the Roman gods with their eventual concrete shape.

Nevertheless Graecising influences of this type did not extend to the private Di Penates of the Roman household. They apparently remained their vague and ancient selves, something to be cherished and valued within the family, until in time their character faded and was forgotten. It seems that gradually a change in the use of the name Penates took place, for in classical and later times the term was employed to cover all the gods, any gods, one had chosen to worship in his house, and which were then handed down from generation to generation: omnes dii qui domi coluntur.<sup>91</sup> No doubt this was an imperceptible process whose beginnings are lost: for example it is difficult to see whether one or two allusions in Plautus and Terence are to the ancient Di Penates or merely to household gods in general.<sup>92</sup>

The Di Penates in the later sense comprised the private gods of the family's choice or tradition, in fully-developed and anthropomorphic form, but excluded the universal gods of household cult, the Lares and the Genius. On the religious wall-paintings of Pompeii various combinations of Di Penates appear, usually in conjunction with the Lares and Genius and not alone. Mercury was apparently the most popular choice by far, in both houses and shops;<sup>93</sup> he was shown with any of his common attributes, the petasos, winged boots, his caduceus, a purse, a cock or an omphalos. Next came Fortuna (and the combined Isis-Fortuna) with her attributes, globe, rudder and cornucopia; then Bacchus with his thyrsus, grapes, a patera or a panther, a favourite perhaps because this was a vine-growing area;<sup>94</sup> then Hercules with his club, lionskin, skyphos, bow or pig. A large number of divinities great and small, including phallic godlets for good luck, some Egyptian gods, and several particularly local ones

like Venus Pompeiana and Sarnus, was represented. Of the few gods painted on the street walls of houses in the Roman colony on Delos the most popular were Hercules, possibly because he symbolised male vigour and was thus similar to the Genius,<sup>95</sup> and then Mercury.<sup>96</sup> At the other end of the time scale, at Ostia,<sup>97</sup> the scattered and unrepresentative relics of the traditional household religion show a preference for Silvanus and Fortuna, and also Hercules and Diana.

Of course the Di Penates came in the form of statuettes also. Figurines of the republican period might be of perishable wood; in the empire they were often made of bronze, which was sometimes gilded or decorated with silver, or else of terracotta, which was usually coloured; other materials were gold, silver, marble, alabaster and ivory. Some were considerable works of art, like those stolen by the infamous Verres, which included a marble Cupid by Praxiteles, a bronze Hercules by Myron and two bronze Canephorae by Polyclitus,<sup>98</sup> like the famous gold statuette of Apollo that was Sulla's favourite,<sup>99</sup> or like Trimalchio's marble Venus.<sup>100</sup> Occasionally gods were portrayed in mosaic, for example in a beautiful lararium niche from Nero's Villa Sarsina at Anzio.<sup>101</sup> They might be depicted on stone altars.<sup>102</sup> A person's chosen Di Penates usually included just the gods one should expect, like Fortuna, Hercules or Mercury, but strangely enough they might also include groups of heroes, emperors and their hangers-on, great men and writers, and even Jewish and Christian figures.<sup>103</sup>

Such was the end product of the primitive idea of the sanctity and magic of the innermost part of the house, an idea whose clearest traces we find in the existence, faded and indistinct though it was, of the earlier Di Penates.



We have seen how even the classical Romans saw numen in fire, especially the hearthfire of their homes and of the city of Rome: they kept it burning and their household rites centred on it. In their thought they did fashion divinities separate from the fire, but these were pale in comparison with fire itself. We get a suggestion of their existence in the legends that told of miraculous births from the hearthfire, legends in which it is said that the Lar or Vulcan or perhaps Vesta engendered the hero in question;<sup>104</sup> also in the everyday practice of meal-time ritual, when the offerings put into the fire are variously said to be for the gods, for Vesta or the Lares.<sup>105</sup> A certain Lateranus is mentioned by some late writers.<sup>106</sup> But of course the real goddess of the sacred hearthfire - not any fire, by the way, for that was more likely to be the concern of Vulcan - was Vesta. Nec tu aliud Vestam quam uiuam intellege flammam, says Ovid;<sup>107</sup> and with that he sums up the whole essence of domestic Vesta. For, in accordance with the Roman, animistic view of religion, she was nothing but numen, without form or recognisable artistic representation in religious painting or sculpture, so far as we know. Even state Vesta, who, endowed with a temple guarding the hearthfire of the city and its most sacred talismans, with Vestal Virgins powerful and holy in their virginity, concerned also with the manufacture of mola salsa, the ingredient of sacrifice, was of the utmost importance in the religion and the whole existence of Rome, even she scarcely attained any distinct visual representation. There was no image inside her temple;<sup>108</sup> a few coin types and one or two stone reliefs are all that we have, and even then other identification is usually needed in order to recognise her.<sup>109</sup>

However Vesta of the household was occasionally depicted in

art, but owing to difficulties of identification we can of course never be sure, and there may be more representations than we realise. For example on CIL vi 787<sup>111</sup> she is shown as a seated woman crowned with a diadem, holding a sceptre and offering a patera to a snake. With this may be compared some statuettes and paintings of a reclining goddess of doubtful identity from Pompeii - she is called the 'Enigma' by Boyce - and elsewhere. But even if these goddesses could be proved to represent Vesta, they are still too few to indicate anything other than that Vesta was on the whole too Roman and animistic to have become fully anthropomorphised. Neither at Ostia is there any trace of her, nor at Delos, unless one could accept Bulard's identification of her with a kind of sacred stone or omphalos<sup>112</sup> to be seen on paintings there often in the position of the altar.

Although the root of the name Vesta is doubtful, the name itself must be the same as the Greek 'Εστία and must mean 'the hearth'.<sup>113</sup> Other suggestions, that the two names come from ἑστάναι, 'to stay in the same place',<sup>114</sup> or that they derive from some unknown root meaning 'burn' or 'fire',<sup>115</sup> can only be noted as extreme uncertainties. At any rate no illumination is to be derived from etymological discussions in this case.

That the private Vesta did not develop an identity or clear existence apart from the hearthfire is shown also by another fact: there were apparently no special family Vestae, no Vestae in the plural, whose domestic cult would have been handed down within those families and who would have been distinguished by gentile epithets.<sup>116</sup> The Vesta of the household was a generalised Vesta. What is more, she came in for little enough worship in the home.<sup>117</sup> When she is mentioned in literary sources one imagines that she stands for 'the fire' as a mere metaphor. It is true that Vergil makes Aeneas worship

Vesta and the Lar with far and incense.<sup>118</sup> This is perhaps a reflection of private ritual, but we suspect also allusions to the Trojan gods which Aeneas was supposed to have brought to Italy and which Augustus was eager to revive as household gods of the state. It is true also that Vesta appeared in votive inscriptions,<sup>119</sup> but such evidence of individual cult is as nothing compared with testimony of the attentions given to other household gods. Such scant evidence forces us to deduce that Vesta enjoyed little cult in the Roman household, that on the other hand she remained a presence at the hearthfire, and that Romans of all periods accorded her little of the worship they gave to their chosen family gods that could be touched and seen.

That is so, but for one exception. In one place that we know of the Vesta of the hearth did develop into a distinct anthropomorphic divinity and take her place amongst the private household gods of a few families. At Pompeii there was a definite type of the goddess which appeared in bakeries or the private bakeries of well-to-do houses.<sup>120</sup> She was painted as a veiled, fully-clothed woman, holding any of the following, a cornucopia, a sceptre, a patera, a sheaf of corn or a torch.<sup>121</sup> Her distinguishing attribute was an ass, which might be wreathed or hung with a bell. As she was usually accompanied on paintings by the Lares and other Di Penates, she was manifestly a normal household god adopted by those who had some reason for seeking her favour, much as Mercury was often chosen by tradesmen. In six out of ten examples at Pompeii she was the choice of millers and bakers. Literary references to this Vesta, and to her festival, which was the ancient festival of the Vestalia for state Vesta on 9 June,<sup>122</sup> are fairly slight but clear. This day was a holiday for



millers, bakers and the donkeys which worked the mills to grind the corn<sup>123</sup> (and perhaps for this reason were the sacred animals of Vesta). The millstones were garlanded,<sup>124</sup> the donkeys too were hung with garlands and loaves of bread.<sup>125</sup>

It is interesting to speculate how it came about that the Vesta of the ever-living fire became specialised as a bakers' goddess. Or perhaps indeed the reverse is true, and it was the bakers' Vesta who was ancient, then largely forgotten, and who survived into classical times only at Pompeii.<sup>126</sup> In that mola salsa was prepared by the Vestal Virgins and stored in the temple of Vesta,<sup>127</sup> the goddess can be seen to have had some sort of connection with the grinding and roasting of corn. Moreover in a general way the nature of the festivals in which the Vestal Virgins took part,<sup>128</sup> as well as the fact of their making the mola salsa, suggests that Vesta was really a guardian of the prosperity and fruitfulness of Rome as an old agrarian community. It may have been that a corn Vesta of the state was particularised in the home. But we could view things in a different way. In that corn was roasted, ground and baked into bread in any oven, and Vesta was the fire in the oven, she might have been associated with milling and baking because of this. However it is impossible now to trace the evolution of the bakers' Vesta or to make a choice of origin for her from the mola salsa of the state or the fire in the oven.

So the sacred hearthfire of the house cannot be said to have produced a divinity who appropriated its power and developed into an anthropomorphic object of worship. On the contrary the primitive idea of the holiness of the hearth itself remained strong.

The last magic and sacred area of the house that should be considered is the doorway. At least two gods can be seen to have

evolved from the numen of the doorway. The better-known one was of course Janus. However he does not seem originally to have belonged to the house-door,<sup>129</sup> but rather to the archways or iani of the city of Rome: he was the sacred ianus-frame itself.<sup>130</sup> The most important and holy ianus was the Ianus Geminus at the north-east end of the Forum.<sup>131</sup> Other iani, which were composite archways or perhaps arcades, such as the Ianus Medius, where Roman bankers transacted their business,<sup>132</sup> did not have the same religious connotation, but they help to indicate the meaning of the god's name. In spite of the supposition of such a reliable scholar as Latte, it seems that a ianus was never a city-gate.<sup>133</sup> Other efforts to derive ianus from roots meaning 'day'<sup>134</sup> or 'the abstract action of going through'<sup>135</sup> are unconvincing. Holland argues that Janus was really the god of ferries, fords and bridges, all being normally marked by a iugum, which she equates with a ianus.<sup>136</sup> But such an interpretation is much more forced than the usual one; and other factors encourage us to accept the obvious interpretation of Janus as the correct one. Artistic representations of him in sculpture and on coins showed him as a herm or head facing in two directions, Janus Bifrons or Geminus therefore,<sup>137</sup> or occasionally in four;<sup>138</sup> and this seems a perfectly good way of portraying the god of archways. The titles Clusivius and Patulcius which were applied to him<sup>139</sup> also accord well with this interpretation. Janus Quirinus<sup>140</sup> was regarded as a city god of war, presumably because the army marched ceremonially - and ritually - through the Ianus Geminus at the beginning and end of a campaign. (It was this ianus which Augustus boasted that he had shut three times during his rule of peace;<sup>141</sup> writers of his period and later believed that it had been shut only twice before, during

the reign of Numa, and in 235 BC.<sup>142</sup>)

Janus was fairly old, and very much a native Italian god. The Ianus Geminus was said to have been dedicated by Numa;<sup>143</sup> and some interpreted Janus as the first of the ancient gods or as an early hero who had been the first to bring civilisation, in the form of religious rites or of houses, to Latium<sup>144</sup> (an idea probably due to the Roman love of turning everything into history).

Clearly the words ianus and ianua have the same root, and mean 'gateway' or 'doorway' as well as 'archway',<sup>145</sup> so that it was inevitable that Janus should develop into the god of any kind of doorway,<sup>146</sup> one who watched over, in a general kind of way, all people's entrances and exits. He came to be represented in anthropomorphic form as a doorkeeper holding staff and key.<sup>147</sup> This was in the public sphere. And obviously it was as a door god, if at all, that he must have been felt as a presence in the Roman house. This however is as far as we can go, for Janus was even less in evidence than Vesta in private life. No trace of private Janus has been found in art. No specific doorway cult was accorded to him, except what is mentioned by Vergil in a couple of lines which in any case refer to the heroic age.<sup>148</sup>

But clearly numina were believed to be resident at the doorway.<sup>149</sup> Christian writers, no doubt following the learned Varro, assigned Forculus,<sup>150</sup> Lima,<sup>151</sup> Limentinus<sup>152</sup> and Cardea<sup>153</sup> to the doorway because of their etymological connection, actual or presumed, with fores, limen and cardo. Nothing much can be made of this, except of course that such evidence, although late, is nevertheless evidence of belief in the existence of vague spirits at the doorway. Cardea, by the way, is thought by modern scholars to be a ghost word.<sup>154</sup> She

was probably the same as Carna, who, according to the most acceptable and best-thought-out interpretation, was the goddess of health and healthy vital organs,<sup>155</sup> the goddess who kept disease out of the house and upon whose feast day, the Kalendae Fabariae or Carnaria on 1 June, people ate lard and bean-porridge.<sup>156</sup> Ovid's story seems to confuse the Carna (and the Cardea?) of the Carnaria and the hinges with Crane, a nymph who was supposed to protect babies from birdlike vampires.<sup>157</sup> Vesta also had some sort of connection with the door.<sup>158</sup> The reason for this is by no means clear, whether it was because in the primitive house the hearth would have been much nearer the entrance than in a more complex house<sup>159</sup> and yet the memory of this earlier proximity lingered on, or for some other reason. The ancients sought to connect Vesta and uestibulum etymologically,<sup>160</sup> a theory about which uncertainty remains.

Apart from these vague and unsatisfactory numina, it is possible to see in Portunus an ancient god of the door.<sup>161</sup> His name is related to porta, or portus, which latter probably means 'door' also, as it does in the Twelve Tables,<sup>162</sup> although it must be said that this is by no means agreed by scholars. He had a flamen,<sup>163</sup> and a festival, the Portunalia, on 17 August.<sup>164</sup> Although the text of our evidence, from Varro, is corrupt,<sup>165</sup> it seems that on this day keys were thrown into the fire (in the private house?), presumably for the purpose of purification or magical strengthening. Like Janus, Portunus was portrayed carrying a key, or, as some would have it, a tiller.<sup>166</sup> He developed into the god of the Tiber harbour<sup>167</sup> and apparently faded out as a janitor: it would be natural therefore for his attribute to be interpreted in this case as a tiller. It seems likely that Janus and Portunus interacted on each other as regards visual portrayal



and possibly function also, but whether one can say that Portunus was the original at the house-door is hardly more than very doubtful.<sup>168</sup>

Janus then was the best-known of the numina that evolved from the sacredness of the door. But in the sphere of private religion he seems to have remained formless, in so far indeed as he was in any way conceived as a divinity separate from the ianua. Scant references in literature and a few votive inscriptions show that Janus could occasionally be chosen as the object of individual worship;<sup>169</sup> however on the whole he seems to have been unimportant and unpopular in the classical home.

The household god par excellence, the god of the house itself, was of course the Lar, the best-known and most widely used and worshipped of all private gods, the guardian spirit of the household, who stayed in it and was but rarely removed from it and who brought it prosperity. Around so simple an idea of the divine has centred the chief controversy of studies in Roman household religion: what was the real nature of the Lar?

A large number of modern scholars understood and understand the Lar to be the divine ancestor of the family,<sup>170</sup> and they are supported by a fairly strong Latin-Roman tradition. According to this the Lares were spirits of the dead, albeit beneficent ones, comparable to the Di Manes, the Lemures or the Larvae.<sup>171</sup> Certainly it is quite clear that the Lares were indeed minor spirits of the usual vague type that was typical of Roman animistic religion.<sup>172</sup> We find groups of Lares as small kindly protectors of other things, such as the Lares Compitales, who looked after the boundaries of country districts, the Lares Praestites,<sup>173</sup> guardians of the city, the Lares Permarini,<sup>174</sup> whose concern travellers were, the Lares Hostilii

belonging to the Gens Hostilia,<sup>175</sup> and so on. In other words the Lares were so vague that they needed defining epithets to limit and define their function. Greek attempts to translate the word Lares show the vagueness of the concept also: the little gods were variously rendered as ἥρωες, δαίμονες, Corybantes or Curetes.<sup>176</sup>

In view of this we should expect that the name Lares should be derived from a root meaning 'lordling', 'hero' or 'divine hero', somewhat like the Etruscan title Lar θ.<sup>177</sup> Unfortunately no definite etymology can be ascertained. Suggestions include a possible root lār, something to do with green growth, as perhaps in Acca Larentia, or \*las, 'jolly', as in lascivus,<sup>178</sup> or lār, something to do with death, as in Larunda, Lara and the Larentalia.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps the spelling which occurs in the third century version of the Carmen Aruale (going back we presume to the beginnings of Roman religion), where they are invoked with the words enos Lases iuate,<sup>180</sup> gives weight to an interpretation connecting Lares with the names of Etruscans. But the whole matter is quite doubtful.

In the Carmen Aruale the Lares are invoked along with the Semones and Mars, all of whom were early agricultural divinities at Rome, with, what is more, rites apparently aimed at promoting agricultural growth and harvest.<sup>181</sup> The Lares also appeared on an inscription, now distorted, on a Palatine altar dedicated to Mars and Consus as well;<sup>182</sup> here Consus was the spirit of the seed stored underground. This slight evidence suggests that the public Lares were concerned in the agricultural prosperity of Rome.

Here and there in both ancient and modern sources the Lares are connected in the same way with one or other of various goddesses. Unfortunately, since the reason for the connections and even the



nature of the divinities had been in large measure forgotten in historical times, this is no great help to us. A Mater Larum occurs in the Carmen Aruale.<sup>183</sup> A certain Mania is hazarded as the 'mother of the Lares' at one point by Varro;<sup>184</sup> the similarity of her name to that of the Di Manes probably belies any real connection.<sup>185</sup> Other names occur. In Ovid a nymph called Lara (something to do with a Dea Muta) is said to have borne the twin Lares to Mercury Psychopompos.<sup>186</sup> Larunda is yet another, Latin version.<sup>187</sup> Concerning Acca Larentia (or Larentina) there were two legends: according to one she was the wolf-nurse of Romulus;<sup>188</sup> according to the second she was a rich courtesan, loved of Hercules, and she left her property by marriage to the Roman state on her death.<sup>189</sup> As nutrix she had been buried in the Velabrum, and had a festival in April;<sup>190</sup> as meretrix she disappeared in the same place, where a so-called parentatio was offered at an altar by the pontifices at the feast of the Larentalia on 23 December.<sup>191</sup> Whether this minor divinity was single or a confusion of two, and how far her cult was chthonic, is quite uncertain. In general, with regard to all these would-be goddess mothers of the Lares, Tabeling identifies too glibly Mania, Larentia, Dea Tacita (= Muta), Genita Mana and Mater Larum, and connects them with death.<sup>192</sup> However the modern view would rather associate the Lār- goddesses, especially Larentia, with the earth, greenness and vegetation.<sup>193</sup> Wherever the truth lies, it is still unclear to what extent the Lāres themselves were associated with any of them<sup>194</sup> and how such association would illumine their real nature.

So far we can only reiterate the unsatisfactory fact of the Lares' having been vague minor gods whose origins had been forgotten by the classical period. In the controversy there stand on one side

the upholders of the death theory of the Lares, who believe, chief among them being Samter, that the Lares were originally the spirits of dead ancestors, or perhaps the dead in general. The main reason for their opinions is the supposed nature of the Lar Familiaris, who was in their view the original type of Lar. Following the ideas of one or two late ancient writers<sup>195</sup> they suppose that the earliest Romans buried their dead beneath the household hearth, and that hence arose the worship of the most important of the family's dead, the first ancestor, as a spirit at the hearth.

Four specific pieces of evidence are usually adduced to support the dead-ancestor view. The first is a fourth-century BC inscription which was found at Tor Tignosa near Lavinium: it reads Lare Aineia d., a dedication which may be compared with that to Aeneas Indiges found nearby; Guarducci and Weinstock both hold the view that Lar Aeneas was so called because he was the deified ancestor of his family, the Aeneads.<sup>196</sup> The second is a line of Plautus in which the Lar is called familiai pater,<sup>197</sup> the phrase being understood literally. The third is an inscription from Moesia: here a dead woman is called a Lar.<sup>198</sup> Another piece of evidence is to be found in Pliny:<sup>199</sup> since, as he says, food dropped from the table at mealtimes should not be eaten but replaced and burnt as a piatio to the Lar, this could be taken to show that the Lar belonged to the sinister spirits of the dead (supposedly) lingering on the floor of the house. In addition to these specific pieces of evidence, the legend of the birth of Servius Tullius from Ocresia by the household Lar at the king's hearth adds weight to the ancestor interpretation.<sup>200</sup> It is also a pleasant thought that those kindly divine guardians who were called upon to help the Roman family were really its departed ancestors, who might

well be trusted to look favourably on the fortunes of their descendants.

There was quite a strong ancient tradition that the Lares were vague airy spirits or else spirits of the dead. The earliest evidence is the view of Varro as reported by Arnobius:<sup>201</sup> the Lares are Manes, or spirits or heroes in the air, or Laruae, and quasi quosdam genios et functorum animas mortuorum. Some such double concept persisted: they were thought to be vague, invisible, beneficent spirits like the Genii,<sup>202</sup> or else the dead. In late antiquity a neat pattern evolved: the souls of the good and pious dead were supposed to become Lares, those of the wicked Laruae, those of the indifferent Manes.<sup>203</sup> If we add this late tradition to the arguments described above and to the Lares' association with such goddesses as Mania, we have completed the case for the ancestor theory.

In answer to the view that the household Lar was the original type of Lar and that on his nature depended the other sorts of Lares, let me state that there is no evidence for the priority of household cult over the public and Compitalician cults. The fact that the worship of the Lares Compitales was supposed to have been instituted by Servius Tullius<sup>204</sup> shows that it was quite old, as do the references in the Carmen Aruale and the Palatine inscription mentioned above; whereas the earliest references to the Lar Familiaris occur only in Plautus. However, in this area as in others of Roman religion, we do not know whether household cult attracted no early epigraphic or literary allusion because it did not yet exist, or because it was too trivial in comparison with the religion of the community as a whole to merit allusion. The religious-anthropological

theory which seems the most generally acceptable is that the religion of the group is always prior to the more individual religion of the household and family or of the single person.<sup>205</sup> So we should tend to suppose that the Lar Familiaris was not the original type of Lar, and therefore that even if he were a dead ancestor there would be absolutely no reason to interpret the public Lares as such.

Ancient allusions to burial under the hearth do exist, but they are latish and not plentiful. It is not accepted nowadays that the early Romans, any more than any other primitive people, buried their dead within the house; rather they were anxious to keep the dead away from the homes of the living, and normally outside the city walls in fact.<sup>206</sup> It seems highly unlikely therefore that there had been a time when they buried their first ancestors inside. Again, if the Lares were dead ancestors, how can we explain the restriction in their number? For it is quite clear that there were at most two in any set of Lares, that is, when there were more than a single Lar. The evidence of the Lares Praestites on coins, of the twin Lares of Ovid and the twin Lares on altars (although these belong mainly to the principate) bears this out.<sup>207</sup> The influence of the two Dioscuri may have brought about the pairing of the Lares, or else the Lares Praestites or the Augustan Lares may have affected Lares in other spheres. Households of the earlier republic tended to have a single Lar Familiaris;<sup>208</sup> later, especially after Augustus' introduction of the cult of the emperor's Genius and Lares, two were the norm.<sup>209</sup> Did each family make a tidy choice of either one or two of its ancestors for the honourable position of household Lar? If the Lares were dead ancestors, what then were the Di Parentes? And why did the Lares not take part in the festival of the dead, the



Parentalia, rather than restricting themselves to the family feast of the Caristia that followed it, if they were such important ancestors?<sup>210</sup> It is clear on the other hand that it was the Di Parentes, worshipped especially at their own Parentalia; who were the beneficent dead ancestors: perhaps ancestor Lares would be a bit superfluous. Then again how was it possible for a Roman to change his Lar, as he could, if his Lar were his ancestor? In addition Lares were always depicted as jolly young lads, nothing like what we should expect grave and rather fearsome Roman ancestors to resemble. Another point is that slaves and freedmen were heavily involved in the worship of the Lares, and it is very unlikely that this would have been so if the Lares were the revered ancestors of Roman citizen families.<sup>211</sup>

It is now relevant to consider the specific pieces of evidence that have frequently been adduced in support of the ancestor theory. Other scholars have exercised more caution in respect of the Tor Tignosa inscription. The reading is disputable: Kolbe suggests Lare Vesulia Q.f., which gives no help with the meaning of Lar.<sup>212</sup> Even if the earlier reading is retained, it must be remembered that the cult of Aeneas came from the Greek world and therefore that the use of 'Lar' should not perhaps be pressed. It should be taken as an approximation to 'minor god' or 'hero' without implication that the spirit so named was an ancestor. In the Plautus passage the phrase familiai Lar pater is parallel to the previous phrase di penates meum parentum: obviously both sets of gods belong to the family and protect it, and pater is simply a courtesy title for the Lar. Moreover two lines further on the speaker says that he will look for other Di Penates and another Lar: so the Lar must be a house god, not an

ancestor. The relevant words of the epitaph from Moesia are Lar mihi haec quondam, 'This woman was once a Lar to me'. This cannot mean that she was once a dead ancestor to the man! It shows that a dead person was not a Lar;<sup>213</sup> rather, the woman in her lifetime was evidently a guardian spirit and benefactress to him. Nothing is proved either way about the exact nature of that guardian spirit. The Pliny quotation is very difficult to understand. Perhaps food, which was in a sense holy, when dropped on the floor was thought to be infected by evil influences there and was therefore burned at the hearth to destroy the infection.<sup>214</sup> In any case the passage does not prove anything about the Lar.<sup>215</sup> Finally the story of the birth of Servius Tullius seems rather to show the otherwise well-known connection of the Lar with fire and the hearth, as indeed also with fertility, than that the Lar was ancestor of the Roman royal line. So in the last resort the evidence brought forward to support the ancestor theory does not in fact support it.

On the contrary it seems quite clear that the Lares Familiares were the beneficent protectors, like brownies, of the household:<sup>216</sup> they promoted the material welfare of its inmates, just as the Lares Compitales did that of the inhabitants of the surrounding rural or urban district.<sup>217</sup> It was not for little reason that the word lar became a metaphor for 'home',<sup>218</sup> just as penates did.

If the Lar was protector of the house in general, he was particularly associated with the hearth:<sup>219</sup> whatever his form, he might be situated near the hearth; and the words lar and focus were often interchangeable. Even in the fourth century AD the Theodosian Code had to forbid the worship of the Lar with fire.<sup>220</sup> Yet more binding was the association of the Lares with the table and with



meals,<sup>221</sup> perhaps simply because they did epitomise the gods of the household. They were sometimes described as ancient or ancestral gods,<sup>222</sup> as gods of the patella, or of hospitality,<sup>223</sup> with reference to the table and its sacra. They could be moved along with the family when the latter moved into a new house.<sup>224</sup> On the other hand a person leaving his family and its Lares could acquire new Lares when he settled in a new place.<sup>225</sup> In general the Lar was interested in all the comings and goings of everyday life. If someone left the house for the space of a few days or for a long time, or returned to it after an absence, he customarily greeted the Lar.<sup>226</sup> One also offered to the Lares any symbol or part of a finished phase of his life: for example the boy at his coming-of-age celebration dedicated to them his bullae, the mark of his childhood, the girl offered tokens of her childhood to them just before her wedding,<sup>227</sup> the retired soldier might present them with the weapons he had used for the last time.<sup>228</sup>

Inscriptions and archaeological finds show that the Lares, while perhaps not being the inevitable cult objects of every Roman, at least heavily outnumbered any other single household god. They appeared all over the empire in the same guise. Most of the evidence belongs to the principate, when Augustus' reform of the Compitalician cult had probably had an effect on at least the visual portrayal of the Lares. However we have one or two clues from the earlier period. Scott Ryberg even sees possible predecessors of the Lares in certain figures which occasionally occur in sacrificial scenes in Etruscan art.<sup>229</sup> A comparatively early republican vase in the British Museum shows what is presumed to be a Lar in company with Bacchic followers;<sup>230</sup> and indeed it is quite possible that the artistic form of the Lares was

early influenced by the usual form of the worshippers of Bacchus or Liber.<sup>231</sup> The Delian Lares also seem to have looked like their worshippers.<sup>232</sup> Even from this scant evidence we can see two common features of the gods, their merriment and wildness, and secondly their similarity to worshippers or attendants.

A few finds at first century AD Herculaneum include a painting of two Lares and two statuettes,<sup>233</sup> at later Ostia Antica two fragmentary paintings and two statuettes. So once more we are forced to rely on Pompeii above all,<sup>234</sup> and also on finds scattered throughout the empire, to form an idea of the appearance of the Lares. On Pompeian wall-paintings the Lares are to be seen most frequently in combination with the Genius and one or two human attendants, being themselves in the position and attitude of attendants; next most commonly with the Genius only or completely alone, and least often with various of the Di Penates as well as the Genius. A number of statuettes was found at Pompeii along with examples of other household gods. Statuettes have also been found throughout the western empire, all fairly similar and easily recognisable.<sup>235</sup> This fact must lead us to suppose that they were all manufactured in Italian factories to certain restricted types and then exported to the provinces. The artistic worth and the craftsmanship varies quite considerably within these types, some examples being small, crude and ugly, others being large and carefully executed, like the fine bronze statuette in the Capitoline Museum.<sup>236</sup>

In general the Lares were always depicted as succincti or incincti, with their tunics girded up, and with billowing skirts if they were of the common dancing type; standing Lares usually have rather longer tunics.<sup>237</sup> Sometimes there is a double stripe

running down the front of the tunic. Sometimes also the little gods wear a flowing mantle. They are always jolly young men with curly hair, bare-headed, or wearing wreaths, the pilleus<sup>238</sup> or horns of fertility on their heads. On their feet are high sandals or shoes. At times a bulla is suspended round their necks. Very occasionally they wear a dogskin. Their attributes come in two main groups, although variations are numerous. By far the most common are the rhyton, often in animal shape, and held in one raised hand as though in the act of pouring out wine, and the receptacle, a situla or patera,<sup>239</sup> in the lower hand. These attributes belong to the dancing Lar. The less common pair of attributes, which belongs to the standing Lar, consists of a cornucopia held against one shoulder and a patera extended in the other hand.<sup>240</sup> Any of these might be replaced by a branch of laurel. Paintings at Pompeii and Herculaneum show that the Lares were normally arranged in mirror-image pairs; on only two examples does one Lar differ from the other.<sup>241</sup> It seems likely that statuettes usually came in pairs too;<sup>242</sup> nothing can of course be deduced from the fact that some single Lares have by chance been found. The universal material for the statuettes was bronze, although silver could occasionally be used.<sup>243</sup> We also find reference to a wooden Lar, but he belonged to the idyllic past;<sup>244</sup> however the fact that there are very few extant examples from the republic suggests that the gods might often have been fashioned of perishable material. It is the more remarkable that the Lares were made of humble materials like bronze, when other household gods were often formed of more valuable stuff. Statuettes of the Lares varied in height from a few inches to almost two feet.<sup>245</sup> And the figures normally stood on bases, which are occasionally depicted on paintings also! In

general the Lares were visually the most charming and cheerful, if not the richest, of the gods of the Roman household.

Such then were those ancient minor gods which were evidently closely connected with particularly holy parts of the house, the Di Penates with the penus, before their development into personal family gods, Vesta with the hearth, Janus and Portunus with the door, the Lares with the house as a whole. The position apparently was that the Romans of the classical period believed in the existence of, and accorded cult to, the developed Di Penates and the Lares in concrete, anthropomorphic form; but that they were not so clear, apart from a few exceptions, in their idea or their treatment of the other gods: these they regarded as vague manifestations of divine numen, namely the older type of Di Penates, Vesta and Janus. It is evident also both from the connection of these gods with special parts of the house, and from a number of rites performed at those certain parts of the house, that those areas, and the house-building itself, had once been regarded as sacred areas filled with divine numen and, as such, worthy of receiving the cult offerings of a much more primitive society. And we can say that the classical Romans, while not exactly imbuing the house itself with divinity, in the manner of their remote ancestors and of early Indo-European thought in general, nevertheless had a feeling for the holiness of the house, the door and especially the hearth.

Although in the nature of things these gods, or rather the Lares and the individual Di Penates of the later type, along with the public Di Penates, were subject to some outside influence, mainly from Greece and Magna Graecia, this influence seems to have been restricted to their portrayal in art. There is nothing to induce the supposition that the gods belonging to the Roman household were anything other

than the native products of central Italy. And as for the idea that the hearth is holy and the house forms a magic barrier encircling whatever and whomever is inside it, that would appear to be a universal human idea common to early society.



In the previous chapter it was shown how to a classical Roman his house had a certain aura of sanctity. It contained his sacred hearth and his household sacra. In it he felt the presence of the divine at the doorway and in the hearthfire, and he worshipped in anthropomorphic form his chosen household gods, his Lares and Di Penates. At this point it is interesting to discover what things were regarded as necessary for the pursuit of household cult and how far that cult was an important part of everyday life.

It is immediately evident that fire in some form was needed for any religious celebration of more moment than the merest everyday attention given to the gods. For offerings were normally put into the fire;<sup>1</sup> and the manner in which the fire received the offerings was seen as an omen, a good blaze betokening good fortune, and a poor one or the extinction of the flame being a bad omen.<sup>2</sup> As has already been seen, this necessary fire could take any form, be it hearthfire, kitchen oven, portable stove, fire in a brazier or on a tripod or on a permanent altar, if one there were in the house or block of flats, any type of fire, so long as it was capable of receiving and consuming offerings.<sup>3</sup>

A focus was thus necessary, but, since fire and light in general was thought to be an expression of numen, its presence at religious rites had the purpose - in early times at least - of adding to the amount of numen around<sup>4</sup> and increasing the efficacy of the ritual. Thus lamps, torches and candles were a frequent adjunct of worship for the Romans of all periods,<sup>5</sup> much as they are in Christianity today. For although classical Romans may well have had little conscious thought of divine power in the lamps and candles they



used in cult, they nevertheless evidently regarded the utensils that provided light as, in a vague way, somewhat sacred, so that they did continue the convention of using them. The amount of fire and light in the house was augmented at very special feasts, for, in addition to building up the hearthfire to get a splendid and suitable blaze, people filled the rooms with lamps and candles. The candle, cereus or candela,<sup>6</sup> was the simpler and earlier form of light-provider, the typical light of the poor man. Made of wax, tallow and other substances, candles were fitted into candlesticks of various forms, like modern ones, made of wood, clay or metal, or into candleholders which could either be held in the hand or supported on candelabra. The latter might be large and complicated,<sup>7</sup> while all types of candleholder were much decorated with numerous animal and vegetable motifs. Candles were burned before the statues of the gods, who in this way were increased by fire and by the wax that was consumed. Candles and lamps were also the typical and propitious presents which people gave each other at the Saturnalia and on the Kalends of January.<sup>8</sup>

The lamp, lucerna or lychnus,<sup>9</sup> came to Italy rather late from Greece via Campania. It largely replaced the candle, to enjoy wide use in the empire. It was usually made of terracotta or bronze, but occasionally other more precious materials, such as gold, alabaster or even amber, were employed. Every kind of ornamentation and mythological scene gave interest and variety to the lamp. It was placed high up in niches or on shelves, hung from walls and ceilings, or supported on candelabra. It is one of the commonest of archaeological finds all over the empire. Numerous lamps have of course also been found in private houses and shrines at Pompeii and

Herculaneum. They could be given to the gods as offerings, as could the oil inside, and be used in the cult of the dead.<sup>10</sup> They were employed to fill the house with light, for example at weddings. And since lamps were themselves holy things, they might even receive offerings such as wine.<sup>11</sup> The behaviour of the lamp flame, as of the hearthfire, might be taken to presage good or ill.<sup>12</sup>

The torch or taper, fax or taeda, which was fashioned of a bundle of wood, was used in some religious celebrations in a special way, comparable to that mentioned above, as well as simply to light one's path in the street at night in a mundane sense. The lighted torch was in fact a symbol of marriage,<sup>13</sup> from its being used in wedding processions from the bride's parents' house to her new husband's house. A special lucky torch of whitethorn,<sup>14</sup> which had probably been lit at the hearthfire in the bride's parents' house, was carried at the head of the procession by a boy attendant; when the procession arrived at the bridegroom's house each of the bride's friends tried to snatch the lucky torch for himself or herself, for it was supposed to bring good luck to the person who kept it, but not to the bride if she kept it. The other torches, which might total the magic number five, added light and good omens on the way. Torches were no less a symbol and adjunct of funerals,<sup>15</sup> for a somewhat less obvious religious reason, over and above the material reason of seeing where one was going, since funerals were often held in the dark. It seems that the early Romans believed that the bodies of the dead could be somehow revived, moistened and renewed by the application of various substances that were equatable with life-fluid, in the same way as the gods could be refreshed and strengthened; and this by the proximity of fire.<sup>16</sup> So candles, with their wax and

fire, were placed round the corpse when it was laid out in the house,<sup>17</sup> and torches accompanied the funeral procession to the place of burial.

So many altars have been found in a religious context in houses, and so many painted altars appear on lararium paintings; that we can safely say that an altar was essential in household cult; conversely, the presence of an altar can be taken to prove, if doubt exist, that a given painting or niche was religious rather than decorative. It is probable that the altar was originally a kind of sacred stone which, like the primitive house-building and doorway and hearth, received offerings to enhance its power.<sup>18</sup> Later it became an instrument in the worship of the gods (and did not, as was the case with those other sacred things, give rise to the evolution of divine numina with a separate identity). Sometimes the altar was consecrated with turf,<sup>19</sup> that is, by contact with the earth, which itself was full of mysterious power. Greenery and garlands were the usual offerings to, and decorations for, the altar.<sup>20</sup>

The majority of the altars at Delos are permanent ones situated outside the house-doors and usually beneath niches.<sup>21</sup> They are mostly rectangular, and made of stone, schist, tufa, granite or marble. Occasionally a curved shelter on top protected the altar fire. The workmanship varies: on the whole the larger altars are better made. Altars were replastered quite often, even to the extent of losing their original shape. The surfaces were painted and repainted too with religious scenes, garlands and fillets. Altars on paintings exhibit painted flames on top, shelters and greenery. No doubt Delian Romans used portable altars when they did not possess a fixed one. Some of the permanent altars at Pompeii are quite old, dating back to the second century BC.<sup>22</sup> Most of them are of masonry coated

with stucco, a very few are made of tufa, and one is marble. They are either free-standing or built against a wall. All are square or rectangular except for three shaped like half-columns. Various provision was made for fire and offerings on top: there is either a hollow or a rectangular depression in the centre, or a high bolster on each side; five altars were actually found with traces of burning or offerings still visible. They were painted in various colours, sometimes to look like marble, sometimes with religious or decorative motifs. Small portable altars were however more usual at Pompeii. Their design was extremely diverse; different materials were employed, such as marble, travertine, tufa, terracotta,<sup>23</sup> or, least commonly, bronze, with religious decorations in relief. Vase-shaped terracotta incense-altars have also been found. An occasional and poor substitute for the altar was a roof-tile embedded in the wall and protruding from it. Altars, or the occasional tripod instead, are very frequently depicted on lararium paintings; they are nearly always cylindrical in shape, at times they are encircled by a snake, they are usually surrounded by a great deal of foliage, and often have painted offerings on top. Often too a snake or two snakes are shown approaching the altar. The remains at Ostia, although they are of course comparatively few, offer a similar picture. There are two full-sized masonry altars, one large marble altar, and four small altars of different shapes. The altar on the painting from the Sacellum of Silvanus<sup>24</sup> is tall and cylindrical, topped by painted offerings and encompassed with foliage.

A puzzling object which sometimes occurs as solid sculpture, or else on bas-reliefs and paintings, is the omphalos, an oval stone standing on a base and occasionally entwined by a snake. It





is to be found at both Delos and Pompeii. On a number of Pompeian wall-paintings an omphalos accompanies household gods, especially Mercury, and often stands between them like an altar. It seems impossible to accept the interpretation of Bulard that it was a representation of Vesta.<sup>25</sup> So in the absence of any clear indication of the real nature of the Italian omphalos<sup>26</sup> we could suggest that it was another type of sacred stone which remained distinct from the altar. We may perhaps compare in this connection such stones as the single unshaped sacred stone and several magic phalluses that were found at Pompeii<sup>27</sup> and also a bidental marked by a small masonry tumulus with the inscription F(ulgur) D(ium) C(onditum) which was found at Ostia.

Like the hearth the table was of course a material necessity of private life. Like the hearth too it was also a holy thing, possessed of its own numen, although by classical times any feeling for the sanctity of the table was much weaker than that for the hearth. The table must have been thought holy, partly because it held the food which was necessary for life and which was thus sacred, and partly because sacra, sacred utensils, statuettes of the gods and offerings, were placed on it.<sup>28</sup> Originally and ideally the table was near the hearth, the gods and the shrine in the simple house.<sup>29</sup> Libations could be poured on to it as well as on to the altar or into the hearth:<sup>30</sup> these were evidently really offerings to the table itself as a sacred object, just as to the altar and hearth. Naturally it was a dreadful thing if it were polluted, for example by murder.<sup>31</sup> To overturn it was a sign of extreme wrath, and not an action to be done lightly.<sup>32</sup> Plutarch tells us how in the olden days some people believed that a table should never be taken away empty from a meal,

and that a little food should always be left on it.<sup>33</sup> Among the various reasons for this idea suggested by him one seems most likely to have been the correct one, namely that a little food left on the table would work by sympathetic magic to ensure a plentiful supply of food all the time. A number of other superstitions connected with the table as a magic and holy thing must date back to very early times. One might for example kiss the table for good luck;<sup>34</sup> and medicines placed on it were thought to lose some of their efficacy to it.<sup>35</sup> Like lamps and candles the table might itself be used as an offering to a god: when there had been a successful birth in the house it was the custom of some families to set up a special table for seven days in honour of Juno Lucina.<sup>36</sup> There was apparently no particular form or type of table that was used specifically in religious rites, although of course it may have been the case that in certain families one particular table was in fact set apart to hold offerings and religious utensils. Every table was somehow sacred in itself, whatever its shape, material, number of legs and degree of ornamentation.<sup>37</sup>

Involved with the holiness of the table itself was the primitive idea of the holy bond created by sharing a meal. For people to eat together round a table, or indeed with separate tables, was originally a religious act,<sup>38</sup> since food, kinship and friendship were so important in early society. This partly explains perhaps the fuss and great preparations which in more civilised times were, and are, merely a matter of pride and politeness.<sup>39</sup> It was at all times a frightful wrong to harm a guest who had dined at your table, or indeed for anyone to harm the host, as the wicked Verres did by shamefully stealing objects ex hospitali mensa,<sup>40</sup> for all were united by a holy bond. Feasting formed part of most major religious celebrations,<sup>41</sup>



as of course it still does. This did not necessarily mean that the participants were any more than very slightly aware that they were performing an act of special or religious significance. In classical times it was said however that the gods were present at table,<sup>42</sup> and so they were in very fact, for statuettes of the Lares and other household gods were placed on it<sup>43</sup> to remind the eyes and minds of the diners of their existence. Christian fathers included in their rantings against the shocking plurality of pagan gods various gods of eating and drinking which are otherwise unknown.<sup>44</sup> However although such deities were forgotten, or misinterpreted, or had never existed except in the minds of philosophers perhaps, they still show that a sense of the divine attached to the act of sharing a meal.

This was also true in a far more primitive way: numerous superstitions had apparently arisen from the belief in all kinds of spiritual presences and ghosties crowding round the table.<sup>45</sup> Any unusual occurrence, sound or spoken remark might be taken as an omen by such superstitious people as Trimalchio: when for example a cock was heard to crow during his dinner-party, he felt it necessary to avert the omen by pouring wine on the table and the lamp and by changing his ring over to his right hand.<sup>46</sup> There may also possibly have been a magical significance in the normally-accepted limits to the number of dinner guests one had, namely three and nine.<sup>47</sup> (Is it of any significance that the proportions for mixing wine were also three parts and nine?<sup>48</sup>) It looks as if thoughts of the nearness of death, the fragility of human life and the inevitability of fate were particularly present to the Roman mind at dinners,<sup>49</sup> but we should not perhaps make too much of this as the Romans seem to have been rather conscious of these things all the

time! The remarks made by Pliny and Athenaeus about food that was dropped on the floor<sup>50</sup> show at least that there must at one time have been vague fears about homeless or nasty ghosts' inhabiting the floor. Other superstitions were connected with sweeping out the diningroom during or after a meal.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps we should mention at this point the phenomenon of the 'asarotos oikos' mosaics, which portray bits of food on the diningroom floor. Deonna and Renard insist that bits of food shown like this in mosaic were a sort of everlasting offering to the ghosts of the dead on the floor.<sup>52</sup> The idea of the continuing efficacy of offerings represented in art was Roman enough, but since the feeling that ghosts of the dead were wandering inside the house was rather weak in the Roman period, and since the few mosaics of this genre are not particularly early, it does seem more likely that they were meant to be purely artistic.<sup>53</sup> Flowers and perfume were sometimes sprinkled round the room,<sup>54</sup> really no doubt as offerings to the gods, but in common thought simply to make one's surroundings pleasant.

These customs were all general indications of the holy nature of the meal and the table. The household sacra included various utensils that were put to religious use, just like the hearth and the table. Amongst the most vital for household cult was the salt-cellar, the salinum.<sup>55</sup> If possible it was a family heirloom and of some worth materially as well as sacrally.<sup>56</sup> The poor man is happy, says Horace, if on his table glistens his family salt-cellar: uiuitur paruo bene, cui paternum//splendet in mensa tenui salinum.<sup>57</sup> It was in fact often made of silver.<sup>58</sup> It was placed on the table with the statuettes of the household gods and thus helped to sanctify it.<sup>59</sup>

The patera or patella is often mentioned alongside the salinum

since it was the other most sacred and valued utensil of household cult.<sup>60</sup> Both words were used to indicate a wide, shallow bowl without a handle<sup>61</sup> which could be made of various materials, pottery or bronze, and especially precious ones like silver or gold.<sup>62</sup> It might be beautifully and richly ornamented. The patera appears as a motif in the interior design of Roman houses, at Pompeii for example,<sup>63</sup> and also, suitably enough, on altars. Like the salinum it was often a family heirloom.<sup>64</sup> Although there may have been little, if any, physical difference between the patera and the patella, I think that it is possible to distinguish between the linguistic usages of the two words. The patera, the word which seems to be used in grander contexts, appears to have held liquid: it was either a drinking-bowl<sup>65</sup> or else, more usually, it was the dish for pouring libations at meals and on to altars in both private and public religious ceremonies,<sup>66</sup> or for catching the victim's blood at a sacrifice.<sup>67</sup> It is presumably the patera which the Pompeian Genius is so often depicted as holding out over the altar on wall-paintings. On the other hand the word patella was used, perhaps in a more homely sense, either for any dish for food,<sup>68</sup> or, more commonly, for the special dish into which were put the offerings from the table and out of which these fragments of food were cast into the fire for the gods.<sup>69</sup> It was a terrible thing to desecrate the sacred patella, by eating from it oneself for example.<sup>70</sup> We do not know whether Roman families kept a single dish reserved for both food offerings and libations, or whether they had two, or more. The patera or patella was naturally an attribute of some household gods, particularly the Lares: Plautus calls them the di patellarii from this.<sup>71</sup>

These then were the main utensils of household cult. But any



number of minor utensils could be employed on occasion for religious purposes. Various vessels might be used when pouring libations, such perhaps as the long-necked guttus,<sup>72</sup> which also held oil or perfume, and the urceus,<sup>73</sup> a pitcher normally used for water. The rhyton<sup>74</sup> was originally a drinking-horn, but in classical times it was used to transfer wine into a cup or patera, on occasions both religious and secular. It was frequently embellished with the head of an animal, a bull, a ram, a lion, and so on. The wine poured through a hole at the lower end. Rhytones were made of pottery, bronze or more precious metals. Sometimes they formed ornamental motifs in architecture. The Lares are often shown holding a rhyton in an up-raised hand and pouring wine from it into a patera or a situla; at Delos Lar-like dancers hold the rhyton alone.<sup>75</sup> The situla<sup>76</sup> was any kind of pail for domestic or agricultural use,<sup>77</sup> as well as for religious celebrations. It was usually made of bronze, but also of lead or earthenware, and sported small feet. Sometimes it too was decorated. As a sacred vessel it was used to carry lustral water or catch a victim's blood, or indeed to hold wine, as representations of the Lares prove.

Although grains of incense were offered to the flames simply with the fingers, ancient authors often mention the acerra,<sup>78</sup> the small casket with a lid in which the incense was kept and then brought to the altar by a young attendant.<sup>79</sup> It might be made of bronze or marble. Acerra was also the name for a sort of incense altar; this might be lit and placed beside the body of a dead man when he was laid out in the house.<sup>80</sup> The turibulum was a similar kind of thing.<sup>81</sup> Some turibula were comparable to modern incense-burners and were suspended on chains. The more usual type had a receptacle for fire and

incense, with a perforated lid to allow the perfume to escape; it was supported on a three or four-legged stand. This was of bronze or earthenware and might be richly decorated. Yet another sacred utensil must have been employed quite often: the throats of victims were cut with a sacrificial knife or culter,<sup>82</sup> which was sprinkled with mola salsa. The knife usually had a broad triangular blade and was made of bronze or iron.

With such utensils as these, employing a table perhaps, and certainly using some form of hearthfire and altar, and with the added numen afforded by lights, the Roman proceeded with his religious rites. It is evident also that in historical times he had to have his gods present before his eyes in the clearest way. And so they were, in the tangible form of statuettes and wall-paintings and, in the case of Vesta, as the flames of the hearth. This fact of the concrete embodiment of the gods made necessary another religious ingredient of the Roman household, namely a place to house those gods.

First of all, the position of the shrine within the Roman house is of some interest. At Delos most of the shrines are outside by the door; fewer are inside, and these mostly in the atrium or in the main livingroom.<sup>83</sup> In blocks of flats the shrine belonging to an upper flat might be outside also, or inside at the foot of the stairs. This feature of having sacred areas outside is peculiar to Delos; the reason may be that they were used mainly, or even exclusively, for the Compitalia, which was an outdoor festival belonging to the whole district. Pompeii doubtless gives a truer picture for the classical period. Although numerous religious paintings adorned the outside walls of shops there, so many shrines have been found inside all sorts of dwellings, houses, insulae, shops, inns, workshops and



bakeries, that it is clear that these are the ones with which we are concerned. The lararia are to be found in a variety of rooms.<sup>84</sup> The greatest number of shrines, 86, is found in the kitchens of houses, but of these 46 are additional to another or others in the same house. The atrium or the main room is, as we should expect, popular, followed by the peristyle or garden. A position near the main entrance is surprisingly rare.<sup>85</sup> It was apparently possible to have the shrine in any room at all, even the bedroom or the lavatory.<sup>86</sup> The favourite position at Herculaneum seems also to have been in or near the principal room.<sup>87</sup> It is interesting that four shrines belonging to upper flats have survived. Pompeii also has a few sacella, that is, separate rooms entirely given up to private religious purposes. The comparative lateness of the remains at Ostia shows itself in a general change in the nature of the shrines that parallels the shift from the traditional household religion to mystical religions like Mithraism and Christianity. There are in fact far more communal shrines there; however, since the majority of dwellings were flats, as was not the case at Pompeii, many private shrines have doubtless disappeared. People favoured separate sacella more than in the classical period. Three insulae have sacella in separate buildings; three have a single, perhaps communal, shrine in the central courtyard; one a shrine in the garden, and one a shrine on the stairs. Building complexes like shopping centres and horrea sometimes have a shrine in the central courtyard also.

Most private dwellings had only one shrine, but there were exceptions.<sup>88</sup> A few Delian houses had two, perhaps one on either side of the door. At Pompeii we have comparative figures: of the dwellings listed by Boyce 292 have a single shrine, 61 have two, 11 have three, four have four shrines, and one, the Casa del

Menandro,<sup>89</sup> actually has six! We can hazard various reasons for differences in the location and number of lararia. Family tradition no doubt played a large part. And the fact that large families might live in large houses, with domestic servants in the kitchen area, would also affect both position and number. Some people were more pious than others. Finally, one could do what one liked, according to whim - and wealth.

As for the nature of the actual shrine, it normally took the form of some sort of receptacle for the statuettes of the gods, everyday offerings that were not burned, and lamps. The simplest type of receptacle or cupboard was the niche, which was basically a rectangular or curved hole in the wall, with a slab of stone for its floor, and having its sides plastered and then painted. The niches at Delos are of this plain type.<sup>90</sup> Although some of the examples at Pompeii are of the same date and general character, most are later and show greater elaboration in decoration and shape. Apart from a few exceptions, they have been placed at a reasonable height in the wall for a person standing and making offering. The niche can usually be recognised as for religious use by the fact of its being framed by some sort of aedicula façade painted on the wall or applied in stucco, wood or marble, which gives it the appearance of a little temple; columns seem to support the little pediment or curved cornice. Every surface of the niche and the surrounding wall area is coated in fine stucco, which is usually white but can be self-coloured, and then decorated with painted outlines, spots, leaves, flowers or birds or the picture of a god. Other kinds of ornamentation are found: for example in one case a stucco shell forms the vault of the niche. Statuettes stood on the floor of the niche or occasionally

on a shelf at the back; sometimes the bases of the figures were supplied with pegs that fitted into sockets in the floor of the niche. As we should expect from the poverty of the remains at Ostia, the usage of many of the niches there is doubtful. Some of ample size evidently housed large statues of the gods which may well have been artistic rather than religious in intent. Of the niches which were probably sacred, one type is different from any at Pompeii, being fashioned of coloured bricks arranged in patterns, and with a brick aedicula façade.

The aedicula itself, which is far more like a temple than the niche even when complete with an aedicula façade, was an architectural type dating back to classical Greece. At some time presumably during the first century BC or slightly later it was taken over as one form of shrine for the Roman household gods. The little building has a gable roof with a pediment and is supported by columns at the front and usually by half-columns at the back, the whole resting on a podium. It is either built against a wall, with its sides either walled or open, or else placed in a corner against two adjacent walls. The columns are usually Doric. Aedicula, columns and podium are of masonry coated with stucco; a grander material such as marble is fairly uncommon.<sup>91</sup> Everything is decorated with religious paintings, or more often, ornamental motifs or patterns resembling marble. All kinds of variants were possible, and when in imperial times the niche with aedicula façade was ambitiously elaborated, the two types of shrine tended to become confused. The Romans also had wooden aediculae; four were found at Herculaneum and one of these is well preserved. It is an aedicula complete with pediment, columns and leaved doors, standing on a cupboard of similar shape and design but



without the temple features. Thus Propertius' line about opening up the Lares becomes comprehensible: rarisque assueta kalendis//uix aperit clausos una puella Lares.<sup>92</sup> The few later aediculae or bases of lost aediculae at Ostia are similar to those at Pompeii, except that a number of them are made of brick, which was no doubt plastered and painted, and some are much larger than the typical household type. Terms other than aedicula<sup>93</sup> for these two sorts of shrine, the aedicula itself and the niche with aedicula façade, were aedes,<sup>94</sup> lararium<sup>95</sup> and sacrarium.<sup>96</sup>

The rarest form of household shrine was the sacellum,<sup>97</sup> a small room entirely given up to household cult. In it would be a niche, a permanent altar, probably paintings of the gods also, and often benches on each side for the worshippers. Sometimes the nails used for hanging up lamps and garlands can still be seen. There are several sacella at Pompeii, some of them underground; most of them seem to have been used for oriental or mystic cults.<sup>98</sup> The three examples at Ostia are separate small buildings employed for the private worship of complete blocks of flats; two have pediments and pilasters which give them the appearance of small temples.

All parts of the Roman household shrine were subject to decoration, including stucco work and stone-carving. The paintings aimed not only at pleasing the eye but were also an important sacred feature. The sacred area and a certain amount of surrounding wall were coated with white stucco, to which pictorial paintings or patterns or plain colour were applied al fresco. Delos offers excellent evidence that surfaces were recoated and repainted over and over again, very often with the same subject.<sup>99</sup> There the altar itself, as well as some of the nearby wall, was the principal area for paintings. The style is

poor, the drawing hasty and crude. The favourite subject is the festivities at the Compitalia, with sacrificial scenes, dances, wrestling, the pig as both victim and food for the banquet. Gods, such as Hercules, are much less common. There are a few animals, such as the cock or the peacock, which may or may not be meant as attributes of gods. The remainder of the space is taken up with plenty of foliage in the form of laurel leaves, palm branches and crowns, and with the occasional religious utensil. Lines of laurel leaves tied with ribbons sometimes frame the scene on either side, or, along with woollen fillets, are suspended above, while long ribbons tied in bows hang down on each side. In this way the sacred painting is isolated from what is not sacred.

Most of the paintings at Pompeii surround a niche, a permanent altar or a roof-tile for offerings; those without any of these must presumably have been used in conjunction with a portable altar. Paintings also appear inside and around the elaborate aedicula-like niches, although they rarely adorn true aediculae, which are normally decorated merely with patterns. Thus the religious painting, if it was not an essential part of the Pompeian household shrine in the first century AD, was at any rate a usual part. In poorer dwellings it is possible that paintings of the gods took the place of statuettes. The style of painting is not of the best, by no means as good as that of other purely artistic wall-paintings at Pompeii, but superior to that at Delos. The painted area is sometimes divided into panels, in which case the snakes always fill the lower section. In contrast to the state of affairs at Delos, the main subject of the paintings is the gods themselves, especially the Lares and the Genius. Sacred snakes are extremely common, as are altars; articles of food, offerings,



religious utensils and kitchen utensils,<sup>100</sup> trees, foliage and birds, animals which in this town usually seem to be the attributes of gods, and the sacrificial pig, all these occur with some frequency. Painted garlands of leaves and flowers, with ribbons hanging down on each side, are suspended above the figures of the gods; otherwise coloured bands outline the scene. There are occasional phallic symbols. In general the arrangement of the figures and motifs is symmetrical. The fragmentary paintings of Herculaneum and Ostia appear to have been very similar to the wonderful collection at Pompeii.

So far then it is evident that for the practice of household cult the classical Romans needed a focus, an altar, gods and a shrine to hold them, a table, a number of sacred utensils and lamps. Another, though minor, feature of the sacred Roman house which was not necessary for cult, but which was often present in actual fact or in artistic representation as a kind of sacred or magical extra, was the snake.<sup>101</sup> It looms large on almost every religious painting at Pompeii. It is clear that in a general way the snake has been regarded throughout the world as a wondrous, terrible, divine creature, and this is doubtless due to its motion without the use of limbs, the shedding and renewal of its skin (and apparently of its life with its skin), its issuing forth from a resting-place in the earth or deep in tombs (and thus from the land of the dead), and of course in many cases its dangerous venom or strength. Therefore it was natural that for the Romans also it should have been something special and powerful; that it should have become the attribute of such gods as Aesculapius, Ceres or the Dioscuri;<sup>102</sup> that for the more superstitious its skin or any part of it should have been thought to be magically efficacious in spells and quack remedies;<sup>103</sup> and that its unexpected sudden

appearance anywhere should have been regarded as a portent, as in the case of the father of the Gracchi and his wife Cornelia,<sup>104</sup> or as a sign of supernatural greatness, as in the cases of Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus.<sup>105</sup>

The Romans also characteristically associated the snake with fertility, partly because by shedding its skin it seemed to live on for ever in a sort of continuous life-stream, partly because of its phallus-like shape.<sup>106</sup> Educated Romans from Ovid to Servius even suggested that snakes were created from the spinal marrow of dead human beings.<sup>107</sup> Thus these beasts were equated in a confused way with the procreative and vital life-fluid that was vaguely believed to flow inside the head, the spinal marrow, the thighs and the knees, in semen and the moisture of the body.<sup>108</sup> Slight support is given to this idea by the fact that the snakes of legend or portent were said to have been seen in the bed or bedroom.<sup>109</sup>

Many modern scholars believe that the snake, as depicted in Roman houses, was a representation of the Genius,<sup>110</sup> itself also divine and closely connected with potential human fertility. Certainly the snake is painted very large on religious wall-paintings: this presumably would indicate its importance - and the Genius was very important. In addition two snakes on a painting may be portrayed as male and female, which would fit nicely the concept of the Genius of the paterfamilias and the Juno of the materfamilias. It was often the case moreover that the snake was specifically called the genius loci, for example on a fresco at Herculaneum,<sup>111</sup> and so it is natural to suppose that a snake in the house was the Genius of the household, or, as some believe, of the head of the household.

Against this view it must be said that no other animal in the

Roman world was regarded as a god, but only as the attribute of a god; and therefore that it is less than likely that snake should simply have equalled Genius. The fact that the Genius and the snake were both concerned with human fertility does not prove that they were the same thing, but only that each in its own way had something to do with it, or was a different expression of it. The sacredness of the snake was an idea far more widespread than would allow of its being confined to an embodiment of such a very Roman concept as the Genius. On lararium paintings the snake or snakes are usually additional to the figure of a man sacrificing in the garb of the Genius:<sup>112</sup> so it would be very unlikely that both should represent the Genius. In addition only a single man-Genius ever appears on paintings, whereas the number of snakes varies from one to three, or even more if there were more than one shrine in the same house. Above all there is no literary evidence that would indicate that snake equals Genius of man. There is evidence that the snake could be the genius loci,<sup>113</sup> an interpretation which was apparently classical and post-classical at the earliest. This kind of snake, like the genii of various towns and abstractions, having lost all association with fertility, but retaining still its magical efficacy, was the guardian of the place where it lived in fact or where it was represented in art, the real snake guarding field, river, tree, tomb, temple or altar,<sup>114</sup> the image of the snake magically protecting wall, altar, tomb or box from defilement.<sup>115</sup> Lastly, a Pompeian graffito beside two snakes at an altar reads Lares//propi(ti)os<sup>116</sup> another reads Mars beside a snake:<sup>117</sup> one might just as well equate snake and Lar or Mars. A third graffito beside two snakes on each side of a man says Cacator //caue malu!<sup>118</sup> So clearly the snake was not the Roman



Genius, but something religiously valid in its own right.

In classical Greece the snake was the guardian of the private house, and was sometimes taken as being the embodiment of household gods like Zeus Ktesios or Zeus Meilichios.<sup>119</sup> Doubtless the Roman household snake partook of this character of guardian also, as well as being a sort of product or expression of the vital procreative life-principle. Nero, it was said, was protected by snakes both when he was a baby and later when he was threatened by Messalina's assassins.<sup>120</sup> The real snake or the snake motif in the house was evidently thought in classical times to be at the very least the bringer of good luck and prosperity, just as is the case, we are told, in modern Sweden, the Balkans and Greece.<sup>121</sup>

How far however did the Romans keep live housesnakes and regard them as sacred? That they kept some as pets is well known. The usual word draco seems to mean any of the harmless grass-snakes or colubrids which are found in Europe and which can be looked after easily.<sup>122</sup> Martial mentions a girl with her pet snake coiled round her neck, and Seneca snakes gliding over dinner table and dinner guests alike.<sup>123</sup> Tiberius used to feed his snake himself, but the notorious Elagabalus took delight in terrifying and harming his citizens by letting loose his venomous snakes on them.<sup>124</sup> It is difficult to assess so few references. The scantiness of the evidence seems to suggest that snakes were somewhat rare, and the fact that there existed a number of fantastic stories concerned with the sudden appearance of snakes in houses also seems to imply that they were uncommon and therefore worthy of attention. On the other hand Pliny says that Rome would have been overrun with snakes, were it not for the fact that many of their eggs were burnt in the frequent

city fires;<sup>125</sup> and it may after all have been the case that snakes were so common in houses that they were not usually thought worth talking about. There is no direct evidence that ordinary live housesnakes, whatever their numbers, were regarded as sacred or indeed as anything more than ordinary. But Pliny's remark may imply that snakes multiplied because people did not actually kill them (because they were sacred?), and, since elsewhere in the primitive and even in the modern world snakes were, and are, taken to be supernatural and welcomed as bringers of good luck, we have some grounds for presuming that the Romans treated them in this way also.

However the case of snake effigies is different and perfectly clear. These were evidently as valid and credible to the classical Romans as the rest of Roman household religion. At Pompeii<sup>126</sup> one, two or occasionally three enormous painted snakes, usually coloured yellow or yellow and another colour, approach the real or painted altar, or the actual sacrificial niche, or they are to be seen coiled around a painted altar or omphalos. Normally they accompany the Genius and the Lares in the same sacred area, and sometimes such Di Penates as appear there. They may or may not be provided with beards and crests (not found on real snakes), which were no doubt really meant to symbolise manliness and generative power.<sup>127</sup> They glide towards altars on which are painted an egg or eggs, perhaps a pine-cone, sometimes a pomegranate or other fruit and occasionally flowers, none of which things is the food of real snakes. Rather they must be offerings which were supposed to be rich in fertility, because of their seeds or heads, and so were given to the magic snakes to strengthen their numen. A single fragment of a painted snake was



uncovered at Delos.<sup>128</sup> But so great is the multitude of snakes on Pompeian wall-paintings that we are led to suppose that snakes were also a popular subject of lararium paintings elsewhere throughout the Roman world of that period.

Another example of the minor paraphernalia that accompanied household cult, apart from sources of light and good-luck snakes, is afforded by the ubiquitous use of greenery. This might of course be real, hung up in the form of garlands on nails or heaped on to the hearth, shrine or altar.<sup>129</sup> Otherwise painted fronds and garlands took their place with great frequency on religious wall-paintings.<sup>130</sup> No doubt greenery such as this had originally been regarded as a straightforward offering to the house or hearth itself, but it gradually lost much of its religious significance to become perhaps little more than a conventional ornament of cult.

While lamps, candles and garlands might still be placed before the gods as subsidiary offerings in the classical age, other types of gift were more common and more proper. The idea behind the offering was evidently that by it the god would be strengthened, his numen would be increased, he would be nourished as it were and given additional life-fluid,<sup>131</sup> so that he in turn would be more powerful and more ready to help his worshippers. For this reason the Romans smeared the statuettes of their little gods with wax or unguent, full of the moisture of life, until they shone darkly with grease.<sup>132</sup> Most day-to-day offerings consisted in a share in the ordinary food of the household, and, since normal Roman diet was, or had been, fairly humble and almost vegetarian, these tended to be simple fruits of the earth, cereals, honey, cakes and that sort of thing.<sup>133</sup> All food must really and essentially have been regarded

as sacred, since it gives life. Several specific substances were however imbued with a very special holiness, and they seem to have been the offerings par excellence.

The first of these was salt, which was precious partly because it is the most important condiment and partly also, one supposes, because of its qualities as a preservative.<sup>134</sup> So its efficacy would be all the greater. It is not clear whether salt was always sprinkled on offerings of food from the table,<sup>135</sup> but it seems quite likely that this was so since the holy salt-cellar was at hand there on the table. Salt was however usually combined with far to form mola salsa. This mixture was certainly a common offering to accompany any approach and prayer to the gods. Far or ador was a type of husked wheat, probably emmer, which was the original grain of the Romans.<sup>136</sup> The grains of far were roasted and husked and coarsely ground in mortars,<sup>137</sup> and so were suitable only for making into puls or porridge. Far was not common food by Varro's time and must presumably have been produced only or mainly for the purposes of religion, when it was used in the form of mola salsa, porridge, or sacrificial cakes made with salt and water.<sup>138</sup> On the very special occasions in household religion when a victim was slain mola salsa was sprinkled on the animal, the knife and the altar:<sup>139</sup> hence the verb immolare.<sup>140</sup> It could also be used to purify the house after a death.<sup>141</sup> The Vestals prepared far for a number of public rites;<sup>142</sup> private households perhaps bought theirs from local pistores.

Another typical offering was sweet-smelling herbs or incense, and what the gods were supposed to profit from was not so much their sweet scent as the life-enriching nature of the burnt offering itself: punguis uerbena strengthened them no less than food or oil. Italian

herbs<sup>143</sup> seem to have been supplanted by incense from Arabia,<sup>144</sup> and this was used a great deal on all sorts of religious occasions.<sup>145</sup> In the east they believed that its crystals were formed from the moisture of life and were thus an offering fit for the gods and the dead. Since incense was costly, a very small amount, a few grains, was cast into the altar fire with the fingers, as we can clearly see on some of the wall-paintings at Delos.<sup>146</sup>

The occasional victim, which was usually a pig,<sup>147</sup> or a smaller creature such as a lamb, a bird or poultry,<sup>148</sup> was of course sacred food to be shared by gods and men alike. The gods received the fat, the stuff of life, and other parts such as the heart and liver that were supposed to be the seat of consciousness, while the men feasted on the inferior part, the lean meat.<sup>149</sup> The Pompeian wall-paintings which show bits of food, usually in close proximity to the main lararium painting,<sup>150</sup> may have been meant to perpetuate the holy feasting at the most important religious celebrations, as well as to illustrate it and thus merely please the eye of the beholder simply as art of a conventional genre.

As we should expect from all that has been said of the real nature and idea behind what was offered to the Roman gods, liquid offerings, especially wine, were in like manner assimilated to life-fluid human and divine, and so formed suitable gifts of moisture: uita uinum est.<sup>151</sup> Wine was supposed to affect the head and the Genius, and was in fact the typical offering made on one's birthday.<sup>152</sup> Moreover wine the life-giver was applied to, or poured over, corpses, as well as unguent, and might also be offered to the dead by pouring through a hole in the urn or down a tube into the tomb.<sup>153</sup> Wine was forbidden to women in early times.<sup>154</sup> It is very difficult to see



why, whether because a woman might be thought to have neither soul nor any life-giving property and thus had no need of wine, or because she was inferior to gods and men in having no Genius, or simply because her fertility might be weakened by it. In general however the historical Romans seem to have had few taboos concerning food and few enough superstitions that were at all widespread. Mention is made of the ox's being spared in the old days because of its services to mankind,<sup>155</sup> and in fact beef was eaten only rarely.

So far we have considered the general setting of household cult, the paraphernalia employed in it, and the nature of the offerings made to holy objects and to the gods. What of the human agents of this cult? In a general way it seems true that any member of the household was religiously able to approach the gods in any dress and at any time. Perhaps the single objection was the contamination of death. After a funeral the relatives had to purify themselves, perhaps by the rite of suffitio mentioned by Festus, according to which one had to pass over fire and be sprinkled with water.<sup>156</sup> Cicero's purification procedure consisted of sprinkling with water or allowing some time to elapse (presumably for the pollution to disperse) before one could regard oneself as clean.<sup>157</sup> To turn to a more positive kind of ritual purity, it may have been the case that, since food, its preparation and serving were somewhat sacred, people in more primitive times felt that those concerned with it should be ritually clean for the task: indeed Columella says that an unchaste person should have washed in running water.<sup>158</sup> Ideally food should be handled and served by a chaste person or preferably a child below the age of puberty. But in the classical period the requirement of sexual purity is rare among the Romans: this is the

conclusion that must be drawn from the silence of literary evidence on the subject, except for a single remark of Servius, that chastity was necessary for all except birthday rites,<sup>159</sup> and the fact that the third century emperor Severus Alexander, we are told, made offering at his lararium every day except after sleeping with his wife.<sup>160</sup> Washing before a meal was probably originally an act of purification,<sup>161</sup> but later became of course merely a matter of manners and cleanliness. So that is all. Evidently little more than a vague memory of a time when ritual purity was necessary in some ways and for some religious acts was all that remained in classical Italy.

If purity, of whatever sort, seems on the whole not to have been required, the case of special dress was different: some attention to garb was apparently normal for participants in household cult. In a primitive society clothing was no doubt a kind of magic shield for the person within,<sup>162</sup> just as the house was for the family encircled safely inside it. All apertures, through which evil might penetrate, the neck, the sleeves, the hem, even the seams, would be protected by elaborate ornamentation and patterns of embroidery, ornamentation that was originally magic and prophylactic in purpose, but that later, in a less fearful and superstitious age, became merely decorative. This primitive practice would explain the purple-edged toga of Roman magistrates and children: the conventional dress still existed after all the original belief had quite faded away. In historical Roman society garments tended rather to indicate a person's function in the state and family, and his civil status. However special dress did have some part in the religious sphere also: this can be seen most clearly in the characteristic antique costume of some of the state priesthoods, but also to some degree in the private religion



of the family. If one put on certain clothing, one put on also a special sanctity with which to approach the gods. Thus a girl became a bride by putting on the garments of a bride. There is no evidence that anything special was donned in ordinary, everyday worship; but for any celebration greater than that it was right for men to wear a clean white toga (or toga praetexta): as Martial says, Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis.<sup>163</sup> Two or more togati are often to be seen on the painted scenes of sacrifice at Delos. Men sacrificed with a fold of the toga over the head,<sup>164</sup> presumably to prevent their seeing or hearing anything of ill omen while they were involved in the rite, according to the Roman custom. The wearing of wreaths of flowers or leaves at banquets was no doubt originally of magical or religious significance:<sup>165</sup> in this way the wearer did honour to the Genius situated in his head during the holy act of dining with others. Lastly the wearing of dark clothes in mourning was another example of religious significance in dress.

As has been implied throughout this chapter, the private Roman sought the favour of his household gods by giving them offerings. Having opened the shrine<sup>166</sup> he either laid these before them, offerings such as flowers, garlands and lamps, or decorated them or covered them with such things as garlands again,<sup>167</sup> or oil, wax or unguent, or else he burnt the offerings for them, like candles, incense, gifts of food and drink and victims. He also accompanied his sacrifice and even the humblest daily offering with prayer.<sup>168</sup> Although scarcely any private prayer has come down to us, we may surmise from the formal prayers that are extant that it was probably fairly ritualistic in style and that people invoking the gods took care to address them by all the specific names and epithets that could possibly be relevant.<sup>169</sup>

Janus was often, but not always, named first or near the beginning of a prayer,<sup>170</sup> perhaps in his character as god of beginnings; Vesta sometimes last.<sup>171</sup>

Fortunately for us Petronius describes the religious ritual associated with dinner-parties in moderately full detail, so that the procedure on these occasions at least is clear. What we do not know is how often such meal-time ritual was carried out or whether it was carried out in full. It hardly seems likely that it happened at every single meal, perhaps rather at the main family meal of the day, or less often, at the more formal dinners only. In any case the frequency of such rites no doubt depended on the piety of the family. Statuettes of the gods, or at least of the Lares,<sup>172</sup> and the salt-cellar,<sup>173</sup> and presumably the patella also,<sup>174</sup> were placed on the table: thus the divine presence was obvious to everyone. The diners might wear wreaths, and flowers and lamps might well decorate the room. The meal was begun, and bits of the food and some of the wine were put into the patella and possibly sprinkled with salt.<sup>175</sup> At a suitable moment, probably after the main course, a ritual silence was kept for a space in order to avoid the chance speaking of ill-omened words.<sup>176</sup> A young person who was serving at table, slave or child of the family,<sup>177</sup> would take up the patella and cast the offerings into whatever constituted the hearth on that particular occasion, presumably a fire in or near the diningroom; the offering was for the Lares, with the other household gods included.<sup>178</sup> (Sometimes it was said to be for Vesta,<sup>179</sup> that is, more or less for the fire itself.) Walking round the table in a ritual circle the child might then announce that the gods were well-disposed, Dii propitii.<sup>180</sup> At some point a libation was also poured on to an

altar or possibly on to the table itself; a prayer accompanied it.<sup>181</sup> By a decree of the Senate of 30/29 BC diners had to rise and bless the numen of the emperor<sup>182</sup> along with the Lares at the libation in some such words as these, Bene te, patriae pater optime Caesar, or Augusto, patri patriae, feliciter.<sup>183</sup> Then the meal and the talk proceeded in the normal way. It may be that the dancing, singing and poetry-reading that entertained guests at banquets was a relic of the time when slaves or members of the family danced and sang in honour of their private gods.<sup>184</sup>

While for the purposes of everyday worship the head of the family and the members of the household were sufficient priests for their own sacra, on more important and elaborate occasions it was usual to hire specialist outsiders to help with the more technical aspects of the celebrations. Plenty of evidence is afforded by religious wall-paintings and by stone reliefs showing sacrificial or nuptial scenes. If a victim were to be sacrificed, for example at the Compitalia or at a wedding, a papa, clothed in the limus, was brought in, along with his assistants, to manage the slaying and the cutting up of the sacrifice.<sup>185</sup> It is very evident that music provided a fitting, emotive background for all kinds of religious rites, as well as distracting the ears of the participants from any ill-omened sounds or remarks.<sup>186</sup> The tibicen, so often to be seen depicted in religious art, was the favourite type of musician.<sup>187</sup> And as we should expect, people hired professional artists to paint their lararium paintings and adorn their shrines when the need arose: the similarity of style in painting indicates this. Probably there was no limit to the amount of hired help the wealthier and more pious Roman might go in for.

The question may well be asked as to how often the Romans did worship their household gods and how far 'ordinary, everyday cult' was in fact practised every day. As we should expect, people varied. Obviously one could and did approach the gods with prayer and offering at any time of particular, if sometimes trivial, need. At one extreme a man could have a Lar and never worship him at all,<sup>188</sup> at the other extreme people might offer worship every single day.<sup>189</sup> Naturally it all depended upon the piety and the habits of the family or the individual. Perhaps what would have been considered to be a person's ordinary duty was to make offering once a month, on the Kalends,<sup>190</sup> or a little more often, on the Ides, and maybe on the Nones also,<sup>191</sup> much as a Christian's duty might normally be to attend church on Sundays. The general impression we get of the Romans of the late republic and the empire is that they were indeed fairly religious and that the private religion of their own gods in their own home was very important and near to them, especially compared with the cults of the great gods of the state.

However, in addition to cult that was actually performed, the Romans evidently sought to perpetuate that cult, to have it, as it were, going on all the time: validity attached also, in their view, to representations of cult as well as to actual ritual. Just as paintings and figures of the gods ensured their real presence in the home, so paintings of sacrifices being made and paintings of offerings perpetuated the real actions of sacrificing and offering and rendered them ever efficacious. In the same way hopeful graffiti, such as Lares propitios,<sup>192</sup> and inscriptions on household articles, pots, lamps, weights and so on, besought the gods for their favour all the time like continuous prayers.<sup>193</sup> Thus it is even more true



that Roman daily life was surrounded by religion, by its silent reminders as well as by its actual practice.

In conclusion then it can be said that the Roman family of the classical period employed a number of things that were sacred themselves, sacra, to enable them to practise household cult. These comprised a focus and an altar, either fixed or portable, to consume the offerings, a table for the holy act of sharing a meal, some smaller religious utensils to hold offerings of salt, food and drink, figures of the gods and a shrine to keep them in, along with the subsidiary aid of light and greenery. In addition a household snake, whether real or painted, with its magic powers and its association with fertility, brought the family good luck. Almost all these adjuncts of cult could be interpreted as the original recipients of the offerings laid upon and before them, rather than the gods of a civilised age. Conversely a few of them, lamps or a table, could themselves serve as offerings to the gods instead of tools of worship. The purpose of offerings was to strengthen and increase the numen or power of the gods: thus they mainly took the form of substances which were, or had once been, equated with life-fluid. Such substances were oil, wax or unguent, food and salt, incense, the fat, blood and innards of animal victims, wine and other liquids, the light of lamps and flourishing greenery. The people who made these offerings were not required to make any ritual preparation of themselves, except for having to be clear of the pollution of death, and possibly, in far-distant times, of sex; they sometimes donned special clothing to carry out certain rites. Ordinary worship consisted in giving an offering and saying a prayer, especially at meal-times. For important celebrations, when a victim was



sacrificed, trained outside help was hired. The eagerness with which ordinary cult was practised varied with individual families; in any case their houses were filled with sacred areas and objects, and cult was perpetuated in art and motto. So they were surrounded by religion in the home.

The original meaning of the Latin word familia is not certain.<sup>1</sup> While it is evidently connected with the noun famulus, the singular form of famulus is not found, and in any case it does not equal seruus.<sup>2</sup> So it seems that familia was not used simply to describe a band of slaves, but was on the other hand used to connote various things or groups of people. If we can judge from the use of the word in the Twelve Tables, the meaning of 'property' or 'family estate', perhaps to be contrasted with pecunia, is an early one.<sup>3</sup> This usage might then be made to extend to the group or association of people who held, tended, handed down and inherited such property. Familia was therefore sometimes used to signify the gens, the clan, which comprised all the Fabii, for example, or all the Cornelii,<sup>4</sup> a related group of families with all their ramifications descended by their male lines from a real or mythical common ancestor and all having the same nomen. More often however it was used in one of the normal usages of the English word 'family', for the family in a somewhat narrower sense, as a branch of the gens<sup>5</sup> complete with all its ancestors stretching back in a continuous line into the past, a branch parallel to other family branches belonging to the same gens. Thus it was possible to allude to the twelve families of the gens Potitia or to the many families of the gens Aemilia.<sup>6</sup>

Then again familia could be used to denote the family in the still narrower sense in which 'family' is most commonly used in English, that part of the family which was living and which inhabited the same house, the immediate family under the head of the household.<sup>7</sup> The connotation of the word might incline towards the dwelling-place of the small family rather than the family itself. Familia in this meaning might

also be taken to include the slaves and freedmen attached to the small family and living in the same house with them.<sup>8</sup> Lastly the word was used quite often to denote a group of slaves, particularly on large ranch farms, or a working corpus of slaves of any sort.<sup>9</sup>

It is obvious that the type of familia which is our concern in this thesis is the household family with or without its civilly inferior adherents, the slaves and freedmen. So in the first place it is fitting to consider the Roman citizen family as a religious unit.

According to Gaius the family was the unique creation of the Romans,<sup>10</sup> that is, in a civil and judicial sense. The Roman family, with all its living members at any given time in the power of the paterfamilias, stretched back into prehistory, and with the family went its own property and its own sacra, which were inalienable and were handed down from generation to generation in direct male line. Peruzzi argues that the earliest system of nomenclature at Rome, where the nomen is not a gens name but really a patronymic and where the cognomen, the additional and subsidiary name, seems to be something like a gens name, rather than the reverse that one would expect, indicates that the family was ultimately prior to the gens.<sup>11</sup> This is also shown by the absolute power wielded in early times by the paterfamilias over the members of his family, to which power, even if it was lessened and mitigated gradually through the centuries, nothing in the gens was comparable.<sup>12</sup> In addition the word gens is philologically later than the word familia.

Thus the family was a very early institution of the Roman state with origins that were lost in antiquity. The state did not interfere with the workings, the meting-out of justice, or the religious life of the family. For these things the paterfamilias had responsibility and

over these things he had jurisdiction, with no more than the occasional family council of relatives to advise him. The paterfamilias relieved the state in fact of judicial and sacral duties in the private sphere, and therefore the state in its turn was unable to function except by means of the patresfamilias and their families. So families must have formed separate and privately-autonomous units, that were also somewhat esoteric, within the state.

In the society of the earliest period, and during the republic, the family and its preservation was of great and overriding importance, the individual within it of comparatively little account. It was clearly the case that Roman society from the very earliest times needed the continued existence of definite, clear-cut family units which would preserve their own property, carry on their own private cults, pay due rites to their own dead and produce legitimate citizen descendants: all these functions that the family could best perform smoothed the operation of the state as a whole. In this sense then the individual member of any family mattered far less than the continuing family line. Only if he acted to the detriment of the family did he matter as an individual, and then he would be obliged to conform. Of course such an attitude to the single person and the family changed with time. In the classical period, when Roman society underwent many political changes, we certainly get the impression that the individual was often of very great account and that obversely family solidarity was waning in some cases. Nevertheless the same ideas seem still to have been there in the background: sons were still adopted, adultery was still frowned upon, marriages that were more-or-less lasting were still contracted, regulations concerning inheritance multiplied, family tombs were kept up and family sacra were continued.<sup>13</sup> Even if there was some loosening

of the old formal patterns of society, the general idea that the family was important was still in evidence.

The Roman desire to preserve the family unit gave rise to certain particular features of private life where it bordered on the public. Some things affected the state and the private family alike. Property and inheritance, and the customs and regulations concerning them, come into this category, but since they have nothing to do with religion they are irrelevant here. However other features relating to marriage and marital status, adultery and family burial had religious as well as civil aspects and should therefore come under consideration.

Firstly the paterfamilias had a strong social, moral and religious duty to marry for the purpose of having children, who would carry on the family name, property, traditions and household cult after him. This was true even in the classical period, for Catullus could write Ludite ut lubet et breui/ liberos date. non decet/ tam uetus sine liberis/ nomen esse, sed indidem/ semper ingenerari.<sup>14</sup> So important was this that sterility might even destroy the possibility of love between husband and wife,<sup>15</sup> and it might occasionally become a cause, if an unusual one, for divorce: the unselfish Turia, for example, suggested divorce to her beloved husband because of her own barrenness.<sup>16</sup> In fact the first recorded divorce in Roman history, that of Spurius Caruilius Ruga in the third century BC, was effected for this reason, for Ruga claimed that he had sworn before the censor that he had married specifically for the sake of getting children.<sup>17</sup> In general a refusal to marry and produce an heir was frowned upon in Roman society, with the exception of course of the legacy-hunters, whose greed impelled them to seek out childless families and to promote themselves as prospective and dutiful heirs to their property!<sup>18</sup> Possessing a fertile



wife and a number of children was one of the components of the conventional happy life. Horace terms such a wife puerisque beata creandis/ uxor.<sup>19</sup>

For the same reasons and in the same way the Roman bride who was likely to prove fertile, and the Roman wife who had been proved fertile, were worthy of the highest praise. Fertility was naturally of the highest value in an age when the number of a family's surviving children was largely due to biological accident, since ignorance of medicine and hygiene caused the deathrate amongst young children and child-bearing women to be so high. The number of her children who were still living on a mother's death was a fact worthy of comment on her tombstone.<sup>20</sup> Augustus attempted to encourage the bringing-up of children and the preservation of families by law. By means of the Lex Papia Poppaea of AD9 he rewarded the mother of three children in the city of Rome, the mother of four in Italy and the mother of five in the provinces with a number of rights embodied in the ius trium liberorum.<sup>21</sup> In addition, by the Lex Iulia and the Lex Papia Poppaea passed between 18BC and AD9, he made marriage a duty for all women between the ages of twenty and fifty, and compelled widows to remarry within two years of the death of their husbands and divorcées to remarry within 18 months of divorce.<sup>22</sup> Valerius Maximus also tells us of a woman who was penalised by Augustus for remarrying without any intention to have children and in order to disinherit her sons.<sup>23</sup> Thus responsibility lay with the woman also, as well as with the man, to marry and produce children for the sake of their own families and the state.

From what has already been said, it must seem perfectly logical that adultery on the part of the woman should have been regarded, as was indeed the case, as far more serious than similar erring on the

man's part. The reason must have been that she was the one who could either bear sons who were legitimate and who would carry on the united and clear-cut family into the future, or on the other hand she was also the one who could destroy and confuse the family unit by introducing either actual bastard children into it or the possibility of them. So a wife's misdemeanours were rightly punishable, and right up to the time of Augustus it was actually legal for a husband to put to death his adulterous wife.<sup>24</sup> In early times the wife's sins were judged by a family council which included the husband;<sup>25</sup> and this regulation was reenacted by Tiberius to apply to those cases where there was no public prosecutor to bring the action.<sup>26</sup> The injured could also punish his wife with a fine. And of course divorce was the frequent and valid result of adultery, divorce ob libidines atque adulteria, as well as of other serious offences.<sup>27</sup> But Roman custom tried also to preserve the family unit in cases where the wife's sins were trivial. According to an ancient law the husband was supposed, in such a case, to give half his property to the wife he was unjustly divorcing and to dedicate the remainder to the offended goddess Ceres, while also sacrificing to the nether gods.<sup>28</sup> Since we hear nothing of any such law in the classical period, it must presumably have fallen into disuse. However adultery remained a problem for both state and family. Augustus' Lex Iulia, which attempted to cope with it, was revived by Domitian.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from the importance of marriage as a method of ensuring, by the production of legitimate children, the continuance of family units in the state, there was another aspect of marriage which was also of significance to the state, if in an indirect way. This was the sacred bond formed by a married man and woman, and the position of both of them in the religious life of the household. A woman once

married was always a married woman, even if she became divorced or widowed: in religion, and in a magic sense, the marriage bond lasted for ever. It is very interesting to note that marriage was intrinsic to the office of Flamen Dialis: the Flamen had to be married, and if the Flaminica died it was necessary that he resign his priesthood.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps a shadow of this situation survived in other, ordinary marriages. For the wife, although she entered the household from outside, from another family with other sacra, to which she had formerly adhered and which she had had to give up, nevertheless was mistress of the sacra in her husband's home.<sup>31</sup> She had to accept the traditional private cult of his family, and seemingly she did so sincerely and willingly enough. Cicero, amongst others, comments strongly on the great religiousness of women and on their love for the holy things and traditional customs of the family, that is, the husband's family.<sup>32</sup> In the old days a wife who attempted to worship gods of her own choosing, rather than those of her husband's family, might be subject to family discipline. In fact Tacitus tells us that Aulus Plautus' wife was tried for being a Christian by a family council in the old-fashioned way - and was, as it happens, found innocent.<sup>33</sup> To such an extent was the wife mistress of the religion of the household that if her husband died the sacra could be said to belong to her.<sup>34</sup> So in this somewhat intangible way the combination of husband and wife promoted the continued observation of their own household cult and with it the continued existence of the family.

It was all very well for Roman families to try to preserve themselves and their continuity by begetting children, and all very fine for Augustus to pass laws to encourage them in this. But some families failed to produce children, usually through no fault of their own, or

they lost them because of disease or war, for the mortality rate was high. Therefore it was a mark of the Roman way of life, so it seems to us now, frequently to adopt a son or to give one in adoption. The adopted son was every bit as acceptable and capable as the real son for the purpose of continuing the family. He utterly gave up the sacra of the family he was leaving<sup>35</sup> and welcomed those of his adoptive family. He also took their name, retaining only a form of his natural gentile name as a cognomen. The new, adopted son was often, and preferably, adult; and if he were both sui iuris, that is not in the power of his paterfamilias, and came from another gens, great precautions had to be taken lest his transfer to the new family and gens bring about the end of a family, his original family, and its cult, lest that family out of which he was to be adopted might be left destitute of issue if there were no brothers to continue it.<sup>36</sup> An adoption of this type was naturally of concern to the state: the means by which it was effected, adrogatio, was a public affair held before the comitia calata and the pontifices.<sup>37</sup> However most adoptions were simpler. It seems that adoptions of close relatives were the favourite type, and in particular of course from families which had more than one son. The procedure for this type of adoption, adoptio, was carried out before the praetor.<sup>38</sup> It was possible also to adopt a free-born or freed foster-child if no-one of superior birth presented himself. But unfortunately not even by these means could all Roman families escape cruel fate. One story bears tragic witness to a family which had four sons, enough for safety and the future, as they thought; two of these sons were given away to less fortunate families for adoption, the remaining two later died, and the parents were left after all, and against all expectation, without natural heirs.<sup>39</sup>

If the worst did happen, and a family did die out, there would still



be an heir, except presumably in the poorest and most wretched cases, an heir who, be he kinsman, freedman, innocent outsider or even legacy-hunter, had the same duty as the real children would have had: he had to carry out the last rites for the deceased and to make some effort to continue the cult of the dead.<sup>40</sup> This was the minimum benefit and the last hope for a family that was extinguished. Related to attempts of this sort to preserve some form at least of the cult of the dead, if not of household cult, was the practice of excluding outsiders from family tombs. Tombs were of course supposed to be sacred and inviolate. But people often sought to ensure and strengthen the exclusiveness of their own family burial places by setting out in epitaphs their exact measurements and extent, the width and depth,<sup>41</sup> and also, as we so often read in inscriptions, by asserting that they were for the exclusive use of their descendants, their freedmen and freedwomen,<sup>42</sup> and not for the heir.<sup>43</sup> Family unity was maintained somehow even in death.

In these various ways was it the custom of the Roman family to preserve itself as a civic and a religious unit. If we now turn to a consideration of the actual private cult of each family, we can try to estimate how far this was in fact private and exclusive to that family and an expression of the religious life of that family group, whether including or excluding its attached slaves and freedmen, rather than of the personal religious feeling of the individuals who made it up.

Some of the typical gods of household religion appear to have been the exclusive property of the Roman citizen family, others were evidently regarded as having a more general and extended concern. A passage of Cicero seems to imply that the Di Penates of the original type, the Di Penates that belonged in some vague unanthropomorphic form to the innermost part of the house, belonged to Roman citizens, whereas socii



and Latini only had Lares.<sup>44</sup> So each distinct citizen family would have its own peculiar and private Di Penates which had always belonged to it: in fact these gods were often called patrii, ancestral.<sup>45</sup> However, as we have already seen, Di Penates of this ancient type were somewhat theoretical as guardians of the family, and they gradually gave way, during the classical period, to the Penates that were the chosen gods worshipped in the household. The gods of this later, looser interpretation might also be traditional cult figures of the family unit. The same subjects appearing on several layers of religious paintings, in addition to direct allusions to certain gods as being ancestral, indicate that the family as a whole did tend to adhere to the cult of the same gods from generation to generation. And in turn the continuity of the cult of their private Di Penates tended to help the unity of the family.

The family dead, the Di Parentes or the Di Manes, were a sort of special sacred property of the family, still belonging closely to it,<sup>46</sup> and thus they formed another reason for its cohesion. Manes, whatever the derivation of the word, whether from some root akin to the Phrygian Μῆν meaning 'authority', or from manus meaning 'good', is simply a term for the nameless dead in general. The special dead who belonged to the family were the Diui Parentum,<sup>47</sup> known later during the empire as the Di Parentes.<sup>48</sup> These were just the vague and numberless ancestors of the family, who, being dead, were thought to be somehow divine.<sup>49</sup> It seems that no single important ancestor or mythical founder of the family line was singled out of this blurred group for special cult, but all the dead alike enjoyed the offerings accorded to them at their own season of the year. The divine ancestors were beneficent dead, not of course fearsome and harmful ghosts without a family to care for them and which they in turn could cause to prosper. The living could even

pray to them, as to gods.<sup>50</sup>

Although the great mass of the family dead were thought to reside invisibly in their tombs, the more successful and glorious families kept at home images, imagines, of the more imposing of their forbears, especially of those who had excelled in public life. These were displayed in the form of wax masks or heads<sup>51</sup> in the atrium, the most public part of the house.<sup>52</sup> They might be housed in cupboards, almost perhaps in shrines, which were opened on suitable occasions.<sup>53</sup> Beneath each effigy a titulus bore witness to the dead man's name and greatest achievements.<sup>54</sup> On festal days they were garlanded; and on the occasion of the public funeral of an important and well-known member of the family they were worn by mourners in the funeral procession.<sup>55</sup> In this way the solidarity of the great family was emphasised. Just as the Genius of the living man, as we shall see, was believed to reside in his head, so his soul, what was divine in him and survived after his death, was felt likewise to be resident in some sort of head, in the imago in fact. Thus in a sense the ordinary dead Roman was a diuus or deus, not because of deification after death, but because his Genius, the divine part of him, still survived, to render him a divinity of a sort, but one important only to his own family.<sup>56</sup> So the family dead, particularly when they could be seen to be present as imagines, formed part of the household. Their descendants might be encouraged to act in a way worthy of them, having them constantly before their eyes.<sup>57</sup> They were certainly a source and an expression of tremendous family pride.

The special season of the year that was set aside for people to give due offerings to their own dead occurred during that strange limbo between the natural New Year on 1 January and the ancient Roman New Year

on 1 March, and actually in the month of purification or februa, February. The Parentalia ran from 13 to 21 February,<sup>58</sup> only the last day being marked as Feralia, and therefore a public feast day, in the oldest calendars.<sup>59</sup> Although these days belonged on the whole to private cult, there were still some indications that they were of some importance in the public life of the state: the temples were closed, magistrates laid aside their robes of office, and some affairs, such as weddings for example, which were required to take place on propitious days, were not arranged for this period.<sup>60</sup> Offerings calculated to sustain the dead, bread, salt, wine and flowers and lamps, were made at the family tomb,<sup>61</sup> the family sharing in this meal with their dead.<sup>62</sup> There was nothing to fear: each family had only to do its duty by its former members.<sup>63</sup> After the Parentalia came the Caristia or Cara Cognatio on 22 February,<sup>64</sup> when all the living members of the family feasted together in harmony and exchanged presents, setting aside all quarrels and differences. In addition to these attentions to their dead at the Parentalia, the family gave them offerings at their tombs on other relevant days, such as on the birthday, the anniversary of the funeral, the Rosaria or Rosalia, and festis diebus.<sup>65</sup>

It is clear then that the cohesion of the Roman citizen family was encouraged and preserved by its continuing worship of the same traditional family Di Penates, and also very much by its continuing attention to its dead ancestors and their proud memory. The gods and the family dead were, in their way, part of the family unit.

There existed another object of family cult which, while not being traditional and handed on from one generation to the next, like the Di Penates and the Diui Parentum, nevertheless served also to unite the family. This was the Genius of the paterfamilias. The other members of the family each had, and accorded cult to, his own Genius or Juno. But since the paterfamilias was head of the family in every way, so his

Genius was the most important in the house. It is obvious that worship of the Genius of any living paterfamilias ceased on his death; the family would then transfer their attention to the Genius of the succeeding paterfamilias.

At this point, when we have noted that the main Genius in the household was a unifying factor, we should perhaps consider briefly the nature of the Genius. It seems to have been a peculiarly Roman creation. Fortunately the etymology of the word is quite clear: it comes from the same root as gigno, geno, gens and so on, and means, or rather originally meant, something to do with begetting, the life-power active in procreation.<sup>66</sup> Hence the relation of the marriage bed to the Genius, and its adjective genialis.<sup>67</sup> And here at the outset one understands how it was that the Genius of the paterfamilias was of supreme importance in the Roman household: for in the paterfamilias as the male head of the family resided biological and all other hopes of the family's survival. In a general way the Genius was supposed to consist of the seed or life-fluid in the head; in the same way the seed is in the head of a flower. Thus the forehead was sacred to the Genius, and a man might rub his forehead to appease the Genius there.<sup>68</sup> Hair, one of the many signs of fertility in early thought, might be described as genialis also.<sup>69</sup> It appears however that the Genius was not merely the physical power of procreation: unlike the possibly comparable Etruscan god, it was not represented as a phallus. The Roman concept involved more than that, in early literary times at least. If we judge from extant phrases employing the word Genius, like defraudare Genium, 'to be mean and miserable with oneself',<sup>70</sup> or indulgere Genio, 'to enjoy oneself',<sup>71</sup> we must deduce that the partly



physical and largely abstract Genius contained the idea of an element in oneself that enjoys life and flourishes, something one ought in fact to nourish and please to make it even more lively and efficacious.<sup>72</sup>

The normal Genius of any and every man and the Juno of women will be examined in the following chapters, as will the later and altered significance of the word. Here it is relevant to notice the special importance of the personal Genius of the master of the household, and how his Genius tended to become the Genius of the whole family in the house. The slaves, freedmen and clients attached to the family took oaths by this Genius.<sup>73</sup> They might also dedicate altars and other sacred objects to it.<sup>74</sup> Of course it was perfectly natural for slaves and hangers-on to do honour to their master in ways such as these; but a practice like this, of revering the master's Genius above all others, would still tend to have the effect of unifying the family. The Genius was, it seems, in the usual way of the smaller Roman divinities, for a long time an abstract or at least unanthropomorphic presence. He only acquired human shape about the first century BC. The main pictorial evidence for the private Genius comes of course from Pompeii.<sup>75</sup> Here it is a single Genius that appears, in the shape of a man making an offering, on wall-paintings; he is almost always accompanied by one or more snakes, very often by the Lares, and sometimes by various assistants. Some examples seem to exhibit portrait features. These two factors, the singleness of the Genius and his resemblance on occasion to an individual person, indicate that at Pompeii he probably represented the Genius of the head of the household.

It must be remembered that the paintings at Pompeii are post-Augustan. In 30/29 BC the Senate decreed that at all banquets both public and private a libation should be poured to the Numen or Genius of Augustus.<sup>76</sup>



From this time oaths were sworn by the emperor's Genius<sup>77</sup> and temples were set up to it:<sup>78</sup> the Genius of the emperor, the father of his family which was the Roman empire, was to be worshipped by that family just as the Genius of each paterfamilias was accorded respect by each private family. Now it seems extremely likely that this public and patriotic cult of the Genius (along with the emperor's Lares),<sup>79</sup> and the nature of its representation in art, influenced the representation, and perhaps the cult also, of the Genius in the private household. There are of course two possibilities: either the Pompeian Genius belonged to the paterfamilias, who paralleled the emperor in the private sphere; or he was in fact the emperor's Genius. The fact that some representations look like personal portraits gives weight to the first possibility; but it still might be the case that a number of houses displayed pictures of the emperor's Genius rather than that of their master.

The single Genius could also be, in later times at least, the genius of the house itself,<sup>80</sup> and not of a person within it. However, no matter what the exact significance of the painted Genius was, he acted all the same as a unifying force for the family, either as the embodiment of its continuing life-principle, or as another household god.

Although it is almost certain that the Genius of the paterfamilias was of paramount importance in the household, that is not to say that the other members of the family did not each have a Genius worth mentioning. Rose and others seem to put the case too strongly in asserting that only the master's Genius was of any account, because through him the family line continued without reference to individuals,<sup>81</sup> and also because that Genius was transmitted to the son on the death of

the master. Perhaps one should qualify this and say that the Genius of the paterfamilias was indeed of more account for these reasons, but not so far as to exclude others.

It is transparently obvious that not only the active cult of the same household gods, possessed by all in common and going back into a common past, tended to preserve the family as a religious unit, but also the use of the same means of worship. The members of the family kept, valued and employed for cult the same altar, the same shrine, the same precious salinum and patella.

They gathered also to share in religious ritual: and common religious action united them once again. The most frequent religious act was of course having a meal together: this act, in earlier times holy in itself, still had its religious moment in classical times when offering was made to the gods at the household hearth.<sup>82</sup>

As we should expect, families united to celebrate events like birthdays which really affected only one of its members but in which the others also took a loving interest. The birthday was very important in Roman private life: the Romans, unlike the Greeks, valued the good fortune of having been born! The whole household would set to, preparing everything for the celebrations, decorating the house and filling it with lighted lamps. The family and friends of the birthday child, and his clients too if he were a paterfamilias and a patronus, would give him presents and good wishes. The Roman would celebrate the birthdays of other members of his family even when parted from them: for example, the exiled Ovid celebrated his wife's birthday by himself.<sup>83</sup>

Naturally the family participated in a number of recurring religious festivals which would have the effect of drawing them together. One of the chief times for celebration and jollity revolved then, as now, around

the New Year period in early January. The Compitalia, for example, was a very old country festival which took place at this time of year. Although it was eventually largely taken over by slaves,<sup>84</sup> it must have involved the citizen family to some extent. Shrines sacred to the Lares Compitales were situated at compita, which were originally the places where the boundaries of several country properties met, and not actual crossroads as such. In time, as property was divided up, bought and sold, the position of compita must have become quite haphazard,<sup>85</sup> so that each shrine would in the end serve a district of irregular extent. In towns compita were to be found at some convenient spot in a district or uicus, where streets might happen to meet.<sup>86</sup> Compitum shrines were apparently made of wood, since all have perished. They could be open to the air, might have one or more altars, and they had, we are told, as many entrances as the number of farms to which they appertained.<sup>87</sup> Persius mentions a iugum fixed up at a compitum, and modern scholars have understood this to be a normal offering of a broken plough to the Lares Compitales.<sup>88</sup> However this does not seem very likely, since an offering of something broken seems rather strange, and secondly ploughs did not break, one imagines, so easily as to provide an offering every year in every district. It may be that Persius' iugum was a boundary marker consisting of two posts and a lintel, of the type also used to mark bridges.<sup>89</sup>

The Compitalia was a movable, and originally agricultural, festival which usually fell on 1 or 2 January.<sup>90</sup> People dressed up, garlanded the shrines and set out to have a jolly time. They brought offerings of pigs or lambs, which were slaughtered on the spot by hired popae and probably to the accompaniment of the tibia. In fact the pig was the typical victim of the Lares, appearing in reliefs and wall-paintings beside them.

On the latter the pig is often shown garlanded or hung with a bell, and eagerly approaching the altar. Part of the festivities, on Delos at least, was the hitting of the pig's head once it had been severed from the body. Other simpler offerings, honey-cakes, incense, wine or salted far, were also made.

The ancient Compitalia was evidently a festival that aimed at promoting the prosperity of the district, at the turn of the year,<sup>91</sup> when the families and their slaves gathered for communal sacrifice and merry-making. There exist in later antiquity traces of strange, and presumably ancient and forgotten, customs at the Compitalia. According to a latish tradition the festival had once been in honour of Mania as well as the Lares, and as some sort of substitute for human sacrifice<sup>92</sup> certain effigies, which were known as oscilla, maniae or maniolae, were hung up at compita and at the doors of houses to protect the members of the household from harm.<sup>93</sup> In one account these effigies were heads of garlic and poppy,<sup>94</sup> in other accounts woollen balls were substitutes for slaves and woollen figures, male or female, took the place of the free-born.<sup>95</sup> They were hung up at night, whether on the preceding night or the following one is not clear.<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere maniae are said to be human figures made of flour,<sup>97</sup> and to be horrible and frightening, quas nutrices minitentur paruulis pueris.<sup>98</sup> It is difficult to know what to make of this, especially as the evidence is late and concerns the dim and distant past, and also scholars do not agree as to whether human sacrifice ever existed in Roman religion or not.<sup>99</sup> On the whole it looks as if maniae were prophylactic charms against evil,<sup>100</sup> or rather, in that they were fruitful heads, as if they were supposed to promote prosperity.<sup>101</sup> If we choose the second of these alternatives, we may compare a passage in Vergil Georgics ii which refers



to festivities in honour of Liber, perhaps mingled with elements of the Vinalia Rustica, at the rural compita:<sup>102</sup> here oscilla in the form of heads of Bacchus were suspended from trees so as to swing in the wind and bring fertility wherever they faced.<sup>103</sup> In fact it is quite possible that it was the memory of these oscilla which was transferred by Servius and Macrobius to the Compitalia, and that after all there is no need to find difficulty in the problem of the maniae. Whatever the truth was, one can at least admit that the Compitalia was a festival theoretically shared in by all the members of a given district and thus, to some extent, particularly in earlier times and in the country, the concern of the family as a whole.

In Rome above all the New Year celebrations of the Kalends of January superseded those at the Compitalia. So far as these celebrations were in honour of any deity they were directed to Janus, who, from being the numen of the archway or doorway, developed early into the god of beginnings. As god of the turn of the year he was shown facing forwards towards the future and backwards towards the past, just like an archway.<sup>104</sup> In later times he was said to be a two-faced prophet who knew both future and past.<sup>105</sup> The name of the first month of the year has an obvious etymological connection with the name of the god.<sup>106</sup> The public offering of a ram on 9 January, which was one of four days mysteriously marked 'Agon.' in the calendars, was probably, but not certainly, made to Janus.<sup>107</sup> The god and the month were evidently thought of as the gateway to the new solar year beginning after the winter solstice,<sup>108</sup> or at least to an interim period of preparation which preceded the beginning of the old Roman year on 1 March. So both ancient thinkers and modern scholars have tended to regard Janus as representing also the course of the sun or the year with its 365



days, as being the essence of time,<sup>109</sup> or even the universe.<sup>110</sup>

Anyway on the Kalends of January Janus received prayers, and perhaps also an offering of cake or mola salsa. As we should expect from modern New Year customs, people gave each other presents, ominis boni causa, and wished each other a happy New Year.<sup>111</sup> They also sought to speak and act in a way that would be propitious for the coming year. Nunc dicenda bona sunt bona uerba die! says Ovid.<sup>112</sup> On farms apparently they would work hard as a good omen for the future, for what was done on that first day was a symbol of the way the whole year would be lived.<sup>113</sup> In time the feast of the Kalends of January combined with the Compitalia and became very popular in the Christian empire.<sup>114</sup>

Although the Roman New Year was not specifically a family occasion, which could be seen as a religious rite that might unify the family and cause it to act as a unit, at least it gave all members of any family the chance to take part and enjoy themselves together, as at the Compitalia.

The Parentalia was quite different. Instead of being a general feast which everyone and anyone indulged in, both in public and in private, it was the private festival of each family's own dead where neighbours and outsiders had no place.

Apart from during recurrent festivals like these, the family naturally drew together at occasional events of importance in their common life, such as a wedding, the birth of a child, the coming-of-age of a son or a funeral. Not only were events like these crucial to the continued existence of the family entity, as we have already seen, but also the very process of preparing for them and celebrating them must have encouraged the bond no less. It is obvious that major changes to the family's structure were of extreme common interest, whether they

were caused by the entry of a new bride into the family circle, the bride who was of course also the completion of it, one might say, and its future hope; or by the increase afforded by the birth of a child or the adoption of a son; or caused by the death of one of its members and the entry of that deceased person into the gathered ranks of the family's dead ancestors.

In these ways therefore the Roman citizen family formed a cohesive unit in the religious sphere. It maintained itself and its sacra by marriage and adoption and the preservation of the family tomb, by worshipping the same gods and in particular the Genius of its paterfamilias, and by sharing in a number of religious festivals.

However the family in a wider sense included slaves and often freedmen also, and it would be of interest to investigate the extent to which these last acted in concert with the citizen family in its religious life, thus strengthening its unity even further.

As the citizen family was a unit in the sense that it lived physically in the same house, in the same way the other members of the household, the slaves and freedmen, formed part of that unit by the mere fact of also living in it. So the circumstances of everyday cult within the family were ever present to them and must have encouraged them to feel one with the family to which they belonged in a civil sense. Cult was after all directed at achieving the well-being of the whole household, slaves included, and the household gods could well be felt as favouring everyone there together in a general way.

It seems that, particularly in early times perhaps, in the less formal house the slaves were accustomed to sit round the hearth sharing in the family meal. This is true to some extent for the classical period also, again, one imagines, in the smaller household: Pliny

mentions focus Larum quo familia conuenit,<sup>115</sup> and Seneca is presumably echoing the opinions of normal, cultivated people when he says ideo istos, qui turpe existimant cum seruo suo cenare.<sup>116</sup> Indeed slaves often lived on terms of great friendship with their master and their master's family. This means of course that in practice slaves often formed part of the family unit.

As we have suggested, the household gods must have been thought of as looking after the interests of the slaves of the household as well, in that they were associated with the citizen family. Conversely it is natural to suppose that the slaves in their turn accorded some sort of cult to these gods and assisted in the religious celebrations of the family as a whole. The small amount of evidence which is extant bears out this supposition.<sup>117</sup> Slaves also shared in the various important events of family life, in birthdays, for example. The respect and honour due to the Genius of the paterfamilias from the members of his private family were also given him by the slaves and freedmen. This then was another factor in the cohesion of the family that included the free-born and the slave or freed.

The Lares Familiares were less the guardian gods of the Roman family than the spirits of good luck to the house-building where the family happened to dwell. The case of the Lares Compitales was similar: they belonged to the district itself and brought prosperity to it, irrespective of whether the inhabitants were Roman citizens or not. This was no doubt the reason why household slaves worshipped the Lares much more than any other gods in the home, by making dedications to them and playing a very full part in the celebrations at the Compitalia.<sup>118</sup> And this association of slaves with the Lares spread of course into the Compitalician cult of the towns and the administration



of that cult. So it is clear that all members of the household attended to the cult of the Lares and all in turn enjoyed the benefits of their protection. This was not the case with the gods who belonged exclusively to the Roman citizen family and its past, like the Di Penates and the Diui Parentum.

Slaves could also become more closely united with their Roman family by another, civil method. Just as manumission could lead to the separation of the manumitted person from the master's family to some extent and the formation of the freedman's own separate household, although the freedman remained at the same time united to his master's family by religious ties, the duties of clientship, and the bond formed by acquiring the same name and gens, so the change in status might equally well join the slave even more closely with the citizen family, by in fact making him or her legally and civilly a part of it. In other words the slave might be freed and then adopted as the master's son, or the female slave might be freed to become the master's wife.<sup>119</sup> This possibility of altering the outline of the Roman family, and its restrained adaptability, added to its unity and its usefulness as a unit in the Roman state.

The last element contributing to the cohesion of this unit when it included slaves and freedmen was the sharing of the family tomb. For not only was it the custom for a family, if it were wealthy enough, to build a tomb for itself and its own descendants, but it was also common to share the tomb with libertis libertabusque as well as suis et suabus.<sup>120</sup> So the freedmen of such a family were assured of union with the family in death also.

The family unit which has been under consideration in this chapter and which is the one relevant to this thesis was the family which lived

together in a household and which for some purposes embraced the slaves and freedmen also dwelling in that household, while for other purposes it was a citizen unit in itself. The family under the headship of the paterfamilias was an autonomous unit within the Roman state; it was by means of the family rather than the gens that the state was able to function fully. For this reason it was of great importance that families should survive intact through generations; the individual mattered less. Various features of family life where it touched upon the public life of the state, and which had some religious relevance, tended to maintain and preserve the family as a unit. It was the duty of both man and woman to marry and produce heirs to carry on the family line and sacra and thus to benefit the state; in default of children it was the custom to adopt a son. Adultery on the part of the wife was regarded as being more serious because it was obviously she who could keep pure, or else confuse, the family unit by bearing legitimate or bastard children. On marriage the bride completely entered her husband's family, sharing in his household cult and being mistress of the family sacra. Other unifying factors of household cult were, among the members of the citizen family, the cult of their own Di Penates (of either sort) and Diui Parentum with their attendant feast, the Parentalia, and the displaying of their ancestral imagines. The whole household paid due respect to the Genius of the paterfamilias, the head of the house and of family cult. They all shared the same religious utensils and performed the same religious rites, as at meal-times; they shared in birthday, Compitalia and Kalends of January celebrations, and in family weddings, births, adoptions and funerals. Slaves were more loosely attached to the family, but nevertheless since they lived in the same house they came under the protection of the same household gods and took some part



in family events. In a more positive way they especially worshipped the Lares. Freedmen often were granted the right to be buried in the family tomb. Slaves could enter the family unit entirely by being adopted or married into it after manumission.

In a general way therefore we can say that the Roman family functioned as a unit to a fair extent, in religious life as in the civil sphere, and Roman religious and social custom and opinion all aimed at maintaining this unit.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE RELIGIOUS ROLE OF MEN IN THE FAMILY

In the preceding chapter we alluded to the paterfamilias as the head of the social, civic and religious unit which was the Roman family. In an examination of the functions of men in the private religious life of the Romans, it seems therefore logical to consider the position of the head of the household first of all.

The very fact that the Roman family acted as a unit in the working of the state under the headship of the paterfamilias indicates that this title did not merely signify the biological father of a family, but something much more far-reaching than that. The word familia, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> was used for 'family' in various degrees, or for 'household'. Pater was used rather as a title of respect than to identify a father in the physical sense. Thus it could be employed with the name of a god. So the paterfamilias was the honoured and respected head, not just of the family, but of the household.

In a civil sense he was the oldest male in the direct family line who was sui iuris, that is, a complete and independent legal persona in his own right, one who was not in the power of, or civilly subject to, any direct male ascendant. Thus according to the vicissitudes of life, he could be a grandfather, grown man or boy.<sup>2</sup> He might have children, a wife, daughters-in-law and grandchildren in his patria potestas, his fatherly power.<sup>3</sup> This was especially true, we imagine, in those earlier times when the family unit was larger but also more closely knit, with more of its members living in the same house. Later it became the practice to emancipate sons from their father's legal power: they could become patresfamilias of their own households instantly. The brother or uncle of a paterfamilias was the paterfamilias of his own

family. Even when the paterfamilias did not have his wife in manu because she had not married him according to any of the forms of marriage that would bring her into legal subjection to him<sup>4</sup> - as became increasingly the case in the classical period -, and even if he had emancipated his sons, he would still naturally be, as the oldest male, head of the household in practice, and leader of the family unit. This remained so although his actual power and perhaps even his authority, which had once been absolute, were softened in time by public opinion and even by law.

Because of his position the paterfamilias was the high priest of the family, responsible for his private sacra according to pontifical law.<sup>5</sup> In no way did he have to be ordained or set aside for this role; he did not have to assume it by means of any special rite or by donning any special garb. There was in fact no division between what was sacred and what was secular: the sacred pervaded everything. The paterfamilias was chief of the family in its life in the state, in the workings of the law, and in the sphere of religion. His performing religious rites was perfectly valid. When the family, acting together, performed a religious rite, when they sacrificed a victim for the sake of them all, the paterfamilias took the lead.<sup>6</sup>

This was ideally the case. But obviously it was possible that the head of the household might sometimes be absent or sick or unwilling. He might after all take no interest in the sacra of his family and be quite irreligious. In such circumstances another member of the family could, if necessary, and if it were permitted, take over the sacral duties of the household. Evidence for this will be noted in the next three chapters, when the religious roles of women, children and slaves

are under consideration.

However not all men were patresfamilias. Sons and grandsons who, although adult, were in patria potestate, and freedmen still attached, as was the custom, to their masters by the ties of clientship and obligation were in this category. These men, while not enjoying the sacral and social and civil headship of their family, at least enjoyed the religious competence of all men. If they lived apart from father or master they must have been in practice the heads of these separate households, if not technically patresfamilias, and they must have conducted some religious rites at least, with the exception of those more important occasions which, like the Parentalia, were the concern of the whole living family. If they still lived in the same house as father or master they could nevertheless take part in private ritual, instigate it, pray to the gods and make offering privately and for personal reasons at the household shrine, and dedicate sacred objects to the gods. We have, for example, an inscription embodying the terms of a will made by a son and instructions to his father regarding his funerary monument, among other things.<sup>7</sup> The son could evidently do so much, even what might be thought the responsibility of his father. Those men who were not heads of families must at least have enjoyed positions of some importance at home, perhaps in assisting or replacing the paterfamilias at religious celebrations.

In addition men who did not possess full Roman citizenship were technically incapable of being patresfamilias. They included Latins, aliens, and freedmen whether or not they had been awarded full citizenship - as though citizenship could not be quite complete without free birth, the privilege of the freedman's son. Naturally they would be much less conscious of the history of their family, if indeed they



had any, or of family pride; they would have in their possession very few sacred utensils, for example, or perhaps none, with which to institute and carry on private sacra of their own. Their gods too were no doubt often foreign, if indeed they could be classed as gods of the household at all, or they might be versions of the conventional Roman ones which had only partly been taken over. They had no Di Penates in the true sense, since these were the ancestral gods of ancient Roman families.<sup>8</sup> In practice, however, the leadership that we must presume them to have shown in such religious rites as were in fact carried out in their households must have been somewhat similar to the important role of the true paterfamilias. Their inferior civil status meant mainly that their families counted for much less in the state than the established citizen families, and not that whatever private religious life they had was ineffective.

The Genius of the paterfamilias was honoured and revered as the embodiment of the continuing life-principle of the Roman family. It is however clear that not just he, but every man, whatever his civil, social, marital or religious position, was thought to possess his own Genius. Every living man was after all alive, enjoyed health and vitality, and was potentially capable of begetting children even if he was not married; and therefore he contained the Genius. That this is so is proved by a few specific references in literature: for example, in Pliny we find the remark, singuli quoque ex semetipsis totidem deos faciant Iunones Geniosque adoptando sibi, and in Seneca, maiores singulis Genium dederunt.<sup>9</sup> It is also proved by the fact that anyone and everyone had a birthday on which he honoured his Genius, as also by the later development of the meaning of the Genius as a sort of personal guardian for each man.

For the concept of the Genius did change gradually, perhaps owing to the influence of Greek ideas. From being a man's own life-principle and procreative potential, apparently a very Roman idea, it tended, during the first century BC, to become a sort of external guardian spirit for each person, a companion or δαίμων to him throughout his life. Censorinus calls it deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus uiuit and an adsiduus obseruator, and Ammianus Marcellinus the δαίμων μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes this type of Genius was felt to determine one's character or one's fate at birth: even Horace in his day could describe him as natale comes qui temperat astrum, // naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum // quodque caput, uultu mutabilis, albus et ater.<sup>11</sup> He could be propitious or unfavourable, and certainly changeable.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes there were thought to be two Genii for each man, one inciting him to evil and the other to good.<sup>13</sup> Some philosophers regarded the Genius as the divine spark in a man which was a particle of the divinity of the whole universe.<sup>14</sup> How far had the Genius come from its naive and cheerful Roman origins!

Besides being the guardian spirit of a man the Genius could equally well be the protecting spirit of a place: as Servius says, nullus enim locus sine Genio.<sup>15</sup> This type of Genius loci was invoked to protect all sorts of places, the house, walls, streams, and groups of people such as guilds, colonies or cohorts.<sup>16</sup> As protector of a certain spot he was often depicted in the guise of a snake. (This is not to say that every snake represented a Genius of some sort.) So the deus in cuius tutela hic locus est was similar to another minor guardian deity, namely Tutela, and even to Fortuna.<sup>17</sup> Apart from this, two other forms of the perhaps more personal type of Genius were to be found; they were however of earlier date. The Genius populi Romani, or Genius publicus or urbis Romae, is first mentioned by Livy, referring to 218BC, and

appeared on coins of the Sullan period, acquiring a temple in 43BC.<sup>18</sup> Secondly an inscription of 58BC has the Genius of Jupiter.<sup>19</sup> The Genii of gods would appear to be the manifest power and numen of those gods, and therefore fairly comparable to the Genii of men.

As might be expected, Genii were not understood in Christian times and were often confused with the Lares,<sup>20</sup> although the Theodosian Code still distinguished between them in AD392.<sup>21</sup> And so far did the misunderstanding go that we find numerous inscriptions from the time of Tiberius onwards, and especially belonging to the later empire, dedicated not to the Manes but to the Genii of the dead.<sup>22</sup> Even Ovid speaks in one place of the spirit of Aeneas' dead father as his Genius: ille (Aeneas) patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat.<sup>23</sup> So much for the Genius as the life-principle of a man!

Wine was the normal offering to the Genius, as befitted a divinity that was originally the embodiment of the liquid stuff of life and of generation. According to Horace coepit ...//... uinoque diurno// placari Genius festis impune diebus, and wine was still named as his typical offering in the Theodosian Code.<sup>24</sup> The religious celebration par excellence which belonged to the Genius was the birthday. No matter what view of the exact nature of his Genius a man might take, the Genius was still his birthday god.<sup>25</sup> This was so throughout antiquity.

The visual aspect of such an abstract divinity as the Genius does not seem to have been at all clearly defined in earlier times. That the snake which was so often painted in Pompeian homes did not usually represent the Genius, but only appeared in conjunction with him, has already been shown.<sup>26</sup> Certainly the later Genius loci could and did take the form of a snake:<sup>27</sup> when Servius says nullus enim locus sine Genio, he also continues, qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur.<sup>28</sup> But

as far as we can tell from the evidence, the personal Genius, who was inside a man, was for centuries too abstract to acquire any regular shape, and least of all any anthropomorphic shape. Neither had he any true counterpart in Greek religion which might have lent him visual form. The wall-paintings at Delos only depict groups of toga-clad worshippers and certainly not the god himself - if indeed they do depict a sacrifice to the birthday god, which is doubtful. Bulard is of the opinion that the foremost worshipper on these paintings developed in time into a type for representing the Genius, just as perhaps the merry participants of the Compitalia developed into the Lares.<sup>29</sup> Of course such a view depends on the scene shown being a birthday sacrifice; and in any case the whole question is incapable of answer now.

However, by about the first century BC, the Genius had acquired human shape. He was represented - and this is logical enough for both the numen of a man and his personal guardian - as a man dressed in a toga and having part of the garment drawn over his head in the normal Roman manner for one engaged in a religious act. Sometimes his head is also wreathed. Against his left shoulder he holds a cornucopia and in his right hand a patera, which is often shown stretched out as though the Genius is about to pour a libation on the altar.<sup>30</sup> Public Genii and the Genii of emperors followed the same pattern.<sup>31</sup> Variations of this type occur: sometimes the Genius wears the toga praetexta, or carries an acerra instead of the cornucopia, or is displayed standing alone without an altar beside him. Some of the examples at Pompeii seem to betray likenesses to individual persons,<sup>32</sup> presumably the patresfamilias of the houses in which they were painted. The number of bronze statuettes that have been found and identified is comparatively small, perhaps partly because archaeologists in the past were not always



able to recognise the Genius as such.<sup>33</sup> A single crude wall-painting at Ostia, which probably dates from a later period, shows the Genius with the usual attributes, but with his head uncovered, standing between two snakes. (This is erroneously labelled a Lar in the museum at Ostia.) However there may well have been confusion about the appearance of the Genius in the late empire to match the confusion concerning his nature. For example, there is a silver, fourth-century statuette of a man in tunic and short cloak with cornucopia and patera, and this looks like a combination of Lar and Genius.<sup>34</sup>

Each man possessed his own Genius and therefore had the possibility of celebrating his own birthday. The paterfamilias however enjoyed the power to worship any gods he chose within his own household. These Di Penates, in the later and unspecific sense, tended, as we have seen,<sup>35</sup> to be traditional family ones, the same chosen gods either apparent in the form of ancient statuettes or in paintings always repainted with the figures of the same gods, gods which were worshipped by generation after generation. But any alteration or addition to the family body of household gods must, as is indeed implied by the patria potestas and his responsibility for his private sacra to the pontifices, have been instituted by the paterfamilias. The evidence we have of men's attaching themselves closely to the cult of one particular personal god, as Sulla did to his Apollo, encourages us in the view.

If we cast a brief glance at religion outside the household, we find that a man's religious competence there was virtually complete. He was free to worship almost any of the state gods that he wished, with the exception of a few divinities closely concerned with the life of women. In some cases men did not share in the cult of these divinities because their sphere of action was completely irrelevant to male interests:

in this category were Mater Matuta, Fortuna Muliebris, Pudicitia and Venus Verticordia. In some cases men were specifically excluded from the rites, and in particular from the secret nocturnal rites of the great fertility goddess, the Bona Dea.<sup>36</sup> There is nothing surprising in this. In just the same way women were excluded from certain sacrifices to Mars Silvanus and to Hercules in Rome, for these gods were in part manifestations of male virility.<sup>36</sup>

In a general way men could take part in all major religious ceremonies organised by the state, during periods of national disaster and crisis, for example, when huge processions and public sacrifices were held in an effort to win the support of the gods. Otherwise a man's religious competence rested on the status of his family and his gens. There were a number of specifically patrician or plebeian priest-hoods, to hold any of which he had obviously to belong to a proper patrician or plebeian family, that is, he had in practice to belong to one of the most ancient and noble Roman families. Likewise membership of the correct gens was the obvious requisite for a share in certain gentile cults. Since however considerations such as these are outside the scope of this thesis, we must leave aside the multifarious detail involved in a survey of them, and repeat that in the religious life of the state at large the Roman man was the chief participant and the chief instigator, especially if he came of a good family.

As the head of the family unit and its religious affairs the paterfamilias took the main active part in the great changes and events of private life. His function as paterfamilias and his first duties commenced simultaneously, at the moment of his father's death. He became head of the household with children, if any, and wife perhaps, even mother possibly, in his patria potestas. As the new head he had

to fulfil the heir's duties by performing the last rites for the deceased.<sup>37</sup> The same was true for any death in the family:<sup>38</sup> it was the responsibility of the paterfamilias to hold the funeral and pay for it. He was probably also usually held to be responsible for the burial of his slaves; he would at least have had to allow them to join funeral clubs so that their funerals would be secured, and may have paid their contributions.<sup>39</sup> He might be responsible for a funeral in another family if he had been designated funerary executor in the will or by the dead man's friends.<sup>40</sup>

When a person lay dying the relatives and friends gathered round the bed; when he did depart from life the nearest relative, very likely the potential paterfamilias, gave him a last kiss to catch his soul, his anima,<sup>41</sup> and, bidding him 'farewell',<sup>42</sup> closed his eyes.<sup>43</sup> There were lamentations<sup>44</sup> (hence the goddess Nenia?)<sup>45</sup> and all the sorrowing bystanders, especially the women, might disfigure their faces with ashes and scratches, tear their hair and beat their breasts.<sup>46</sup> The dead body was treated as though it were in a way divine and capable of some sort of revival: it was washed and dressed, normally in white,<sup>47</sup> anointed with strength-giving unguent<sup>48</sup> and wreathed with life-giving flowers;<sup>49</sup> and a coin might be placed in its mouth.<sup>50</sup> Lamps, candles or torches, symbolic of power and life, were lit and placed around it<sup>51</sup> as it lay in state in the house for a period of seven days before the funeral.<sup>52</sup> It was guarded lest any evil influence affect it.<sup>53</sup> The wealthier families employed professional undertakers, pollinctores.<sup>54</sup> The funeral procession originally took place at night,<sup>55</sup> and while in the classical era most funerals were held during daytime, the torches, which in the old days had lighted the cortège as well as supplying magical numen, were still conventionally used.<sup>56</sup> They were also employed to

light the funeral pyre. A number of relatives or friends or newly-freed slaves were (presumably) delegated by the paterfamilias to carry the bier.<sup>57</sup> Relatives and friends accompanied the procession<sup>58</sup> and wore the customary dark clothes for mourning.<sup>59</sup> Mourners<sup>60</sup> and musicians<sup>61</sup> might also be hired. The more important, well-born and successful the deceased had been, the more public was his funeral and the greater and more obvious the honours and attentions, such as the lying-in-state, the funeral panegyric and the procession of persons wearing the family's ancestral masks, that were paid him in public.<sup>62</sup> No expense was spared: on to the funeral pyre were heaped incense and perfumes, garments, precious gifts, spoils of war, even blood and milk.<sup>63</sup> The immortality afforded by a legend on his tombstone also benefited the deceased.<sup>64</sup>

Both inhumation and cremation were practised by the Romans, cremation being more popular in the classical period, although technical burial of the os resectum was necessary,<sup>65</sup> and inhumation (in sarcophagi) during the later empire. The need that was universally felt in the ancient world to sprinkle at least a little earth on the dead is well-known.<sup>66</sup> The bodies or ashes of the dead were disposed in various receptacles in tombs, graves or columbaria of many types, a full description of which may be found in Toynbee's book Death and burial in the Roman world; the very poor and slaves who had made no provision for themselves were buried in gravepits. This brings us to the second duty of the paterfamilias when a death occurred in the house. Not only had he to carry out due rites for the benefit of the deceased, and to ensure him a comfortable afterlife as a dead member of the family, but he also had to rid the living of the pollution spread by that very death. For this reason the dead were normally buried outside the city and safely away from the house, so that this superstitious danger was reduced. The



paterfamilias also had to see that the house-building was purified after the funeral,<sup>67</sup> during the period called feriae denicales,<sup>68</sup> that the attenders at the funeral underwent a rite of purification by fire and water, the suffitio,<sup>69</sup> and that the domestic Lares were purified by the sacrifice of wethers.<sup>70</sup> He saw that cypress marked the house as funereal.<sup>71</sup> If anything to do with the last rites was amiss, he had to sacrifice a porca praecidanea, familiae purgandae causa.<sup>72</sup> There were also the due ceremonies at the tomb to organise: at the time of the funeral the silicernium or funeral feast took place there,<sup>73</sup> and on the ninth day after it the cena nouendialis was held.<sup>74</sup> Finally the paterfamilias, acting on behalf of his family, had to deposit a coin in the temple of Libitina, goddess of funerals.<sup>75</sup>

As was clearly seen in the previous chapter, the paterfamilias had a duty to marry in order to continue his family line, maintain it as a useful unit intact with its sacra, and produce children. As a bridegroom he acted on his own behalf and made the necessary arrangements for betrothal and marriage with the father or guardian of his chosen bride. It happened sometimes that if he belonged to an important family, for whom politics or wealth or some fine public career made marriage of vital importance, he might scarcely know the bride, and might be ready to marry her for the sake of gaining the alliance of her family and the power that offered, or because she was rich, or because she seemed likely to prove a fertile mother.

After making some sort of preliminary arrangement, the conuentae condicio,<sup>76</sup> the man and the prospective bride's father arranged the more definite betrothal, or sponsalia.<sup>77</sup> This was a legal contract which was binding on the parties up to 90BC, in Latium at least,<sup>78</sup> but in fact there is evidence that otherwise betrothal 'contracts'

were frequently broken.<sup>79</sup> Anyway the arrangements were optimistically made before witnesses.<sup>80</sup> In the later empire they were sometimes inscribed on tablets which could be signed<sup>81</sup> and kept as part of, or the pattern for, the marriage contract. The two men agreed the amount of the dowry, if, as was usual, there was one.<sup>82</sup> Indeed the dowry seems to have been the main reason for signatures and witnesses. We read such phrases as dote inter auspices consignata (which comes in Suetonius);<sup>83</sup> and obviously the aim of all this was to prevent dispute at a later date. The young man and the girl's father, or the girl herself, announced, we presume, their intention to marry, and then the prospective bridegroom and bride were sponsus and sponsa.<sup>84</sup> There is some evidence for a religious ceremony at a betrothal, for example in phrases like pactas ... aras in Propertius and interpositis rebus diuinis in Festus.<sup>85</sup> Indeed it does seem likely that the more pious families at least would have made some offering to the gods on such an important and, one hoped, auspicious occasion. In addition Paulus-Festus tells us that engagement ceremonies might be held early in the day, to make sure of a good omen, or rather to minimise the possibility of a bad one, prima aut secunda hora causa ominis.<sup>86</sup> There would probably be a party, sponsalium cena,<sup>87</sup> when the sacred act of eating together - if any classical Roman still believed this kind of thing - added sanctity to the day's proceedings.

The man gave his fiancée a plain ring made of the ancient material iron,<sup>88</sup> which was supposed to be magically potent; its circular shape symbolised her new fate.<sup>89</sup> This ring the girl wore on the fourth finger of her left hand, as British women do, because a nerve was believed to run from there to the heart.<sup>90</sup> The ring also served later as her wedding ring. In the empire the tradition was not always followed, and gold or silver rings set with gems might be exchanged.<sup>91</sup>

The wedding ceremony firstly and largely took place in the house of the bride's family. Whether the bridegroom with his attendants was necessarily present we do not know. He certainly had to be present if the marriage were being conducted according to the rare and antique procedure of confarreatio, which will be described in the next chapter. On the other hand we know that valid marriages could be made even if the man were absent, away on military service, for example. However it is very probable that he was present; and in the art of the empire the bridegroom is often to be seen holding the tabulae nuptiales or a uolumen, namely the marriage contract, in his left hand,<sup>92</sup> while with his right he may clasp the hand of his bride. The second and extremely significant part of the wedding ceremony was the procession of the bride, accompanied by her attendants and the guests, from her family home to the bridegroom's house. We do not know what the bridegroom was doing at this point. There is no evidence that he walked with the bridal procession, and it seems rather that he went on ahead in order to receive the bride and the others when they arrived at his house.

All the same when the procession did arrive outside his house the bridegroom or one of his attendants scattered walnuts for the children who were present: sparge, marite, nuces, enjoins Vergil.<sup>93</sup> The nuts were presumably symbols of fertility<sup>94</sup> - hardly to feed nasty spirits, as Samter claims!<sup>95</sup> -, the fertility of which the children themselves were also signs. Now, at the moment when the bride entered the bridegroom's house - and he did not lift her over the threshold according to our custom -, he was inside ready to receive her with fire and water: as Varro tells us, ignis et aqua ... nuptiis in limine adhibentur.<sup>96</sup> The fire had been brought from his hearth on the lucky branch of a fruitful tree, as we learn once more from Varro in Nonius, and the

water in a ewer.<sup>97</sup> Although this rite is well attested for all periods, we do not know its precise ritual significance. Fire and water were supposed to contribute to generation.<sup>98</sup> The girl touched the elements and may have been fortified by them, or, according to another possible interpretation, she may have been purified by the contact.<sup>99</sup> There is no good evidence for a foot-washing ceremony, to which only Servius alludes.<sup>100</sup> In a general way it can be admitted that these elements were offered to her in order to indicate that she now shared in the necessities of life in her new family.<sup>101</sup>

In the atrium of the bridegroom's house and in full view opposite the entrance, the sacred lectus genialis was traditionally set by the bridegroom or someone belonging to his household.<sup>102</sup> It was often arrayed with splendid coverlets, perhaps of rich purple or even cloth of gold.<sup>103</sup> This may originally have been the actual marriage bed, and probably in some cases it still was in classical times,<sup>104</sup> in very small, poor apartments; but in larger houses it seems most likely that the couple retired to a bedroom. Whether the lectus genialis was symbolic or actual, it was of course very holy for it was sacred to the man's Genius.<sup>105</sup> The Genius may have been invoked.<sup>106</sup> Catullus speaks of the bridegroom reclining on the lectus genialis while awaiting the arrival of the bride; elsewhere the bride is sometimes described as reclining on it.<sup>107</sup> Normally the bride was soon led away out of public view into the bridal chamber, where the bridegroom joined her.

On the following day it was the custom for the newly-married man to hold a festive dinner-party, the repotia, to which his father-in-law and perhaps some friends were invited.<sup>108</sup>

When a Roman couple married it was with the intention that their marriage should last forever.<sup>109</sup> This Roman ideal was taken over by



the Christians. Even if the couple divorced the marriage was, in a religious and also magic sense, indissoluble, for the religious rites had been carried out and they were irreversible, and the woman, once married, was ever afterwards a matrona.<sup>110</sup> If the man and woman quarrelled badly they could approach Conciliatrix for help,<sup>111</sup> or go to the shrine of Juno Viriplaca on the Palatine, the dea ... colenda utpote cotidiana ac domesticae pacis custos.<sup>112</sup> Juno Viriplaca's name leads us to suppose that she was in the habit of reconciling injured, angry husbands to their erring wives: Roman wives were supposed to be subservient to their husbands<sup>113</sup> and therefore any fault in the marriage would be found on their side. It is interesting to notice a scrap of evidence from Ostia: during the reign of Antoninus Pius it was the duty of newly-married couples to supplicate the emperor and the deified Faustina ob insignem eorum concordiam.<sup>114</sup> We must hope that this encouraged conjugal bliss.

As we saw in our consideration of the unity of the family, adultery on the part of the wife was always regarded as being more serious than on the part of the husband, the reason being partly that society was of course dominated by men, but mainly that the wife really was the upholder of family integrity and the mother of legitimate children who would grow up to preserve the family, its sacra and its property. So adultery was a valid reason for divorce or other punishment.<sup>115</sup> The evidence shows that it was far more common for a man to divorce his wife than for the reverse to happen, and this again is associated with the superior status, civil potestas and authority of the man in his household as in the state, as well as with the fact stated above, that ultimately the stability of the family rested with the wife.

The process of divorce was a civil or social affair, and not a

religious one,<sup>116</sup> but nevertheless it is of some relevance here. It was a private matter performed within the family. The man simply bade the woman leave the house, taking with her her belongings: in Plautus he uses the words, ualeas, tibi habeas res tuas, reddas meas, and in Juvenal a freedman husband tells her, collige sarcinulas ... et exi.<sup>117</sup> He could also divorce her by merely sending a letter indicating his decision.<sup>118</sup> The reason for divorce was usually, one hopes, an important one. Examples we know of are adultery of course,<sup>119</sup> occasionally barrenness,<sup>120</sup> shame associated in a particular case with Clodius' desecration of the Bona Dea sacrifice,<sup>121</sup> licentiousness, possible homicide or attempts at murder, the abortion of children.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately we find plenty of examples of trivial reasons also, such as going out or otherwise acting without the husband's knowledge or express permission,<sup>123</sup> neglecting the husband,<sup>124</sup> (Terentia's) being pleased at Tullia's death,<sup>125</sup> having a runny nose(!),<sup>126</sup> ex leuibus offensis or sine causa.<sup>127</sup> The wife might not even be at fault in any way at all, but perhaps the man divorced her because he fancied another woman or had trouble with his mother-in-law.<sup>128</sup> Some sort of religious act must have accompanied the type of divorce known as diffarreatio, which was the dissolution of marriage entered into by confarreatio. Confarreatio was originally and for long completely indissoluble,<sup>129</sup> as it always remained in the case of the Flamen Dialis and the Flaminica;<sup>130</sup> but the regulations were relaxed in the time of Tiberius, and indeed mention is made on a latish inscription of a sacerdos confarreationum et diffarreationum.<sup>131</sup> However we do not know what form diffarreatio took,<sup>132</sup> since there is no evidence for any symmetrical reversal action, of the type that would be necessary in such a case, in Roman law.<sup>133</sup>

So the paterfamilias could marry a wife, sharing in the customary

religious aspects, as well as the other aspects, of the wedding ceremony, and he could summarily divorce her, usually, and perhaps understandably enough, without recourse to religious rites. The desired outcome of marriage was of course the birth of a child. The father had apparently no part of religious or magical significance to play during his wife's pregnancy and the actual course of childbirth. These were affairs secret and private to women. But Fliny mentions one or two actions which he had found were practised by superstitious fathers in order to alleviate the labour by sympathetic magic: for example the husband might put a belt round his wife and then loosen it, thereby easing the process of delivery, or so they imagined.<sup>134</sup>

Even if the gynaecological process of birth were kept away from the father's eyes, he must have instigated any rites designed to protect the mother and child during the dangerous period following the birth.<sup>135</sup> He might give instructions for a lectus or a mensa to be set up in the house in gratitude to the gods for the safe delivery.<sup>136</sup> He must have organised the jollifications attendant on the event. The house-door would be decorated with greenery on such a happy occasion,<sup>137</sup> there would be joyful celebrations, and friends would offer their congratulations.<sup>138</sup> Grateful offerings might well be made to the gods, within the house or outside in a relevant temple.<sup>139</sup>

According to a regulation that was supposed to date back to Servius Tullius but which cannot have been so ancient, people had to offer a coin at the temple of Juno Lucina for each live birth.<sup>140</sup> This served as a rough method of numbering the births in Rome. Then Augustus introduced, in the Lex Aelia Sentia and Papia Poppaea of AD4-9, a more formal method of birth registration which had to be performed within thirty days of the event. Free births were registered with the

praefecti aerarii Saturni in Rome, and at the tabularia publica in the provinces.<sup>141</sup> Illegitimate births too were registered from the second century AD onwards. The paterfamilias must have been responsible for registration by either method.

It was certainly the responsibility of the paterfamilias to acknowledge any baby borne by his wife as his and as worth rearing. He also had the power to choose to accept paternity for her child even if he were not the father.<sup>142</sup> He acknowledged it by raising it up from the ground<sup>143</sup> - and hence the Dea Leuana who is mentioned in the pages of St Augustine.<sup>144</sup> The child's acceptance by the father was a necessary prelude to its more formal entry into the family and the family sacra on the dies lustricus,<sup>145</sup> an occasion which was again under the father's supervision. The father could on the other hand choose not to raise the child: he could expose it, leaving it to die or to be picked up by someone else. We do not know how much the exposure of infants was practised, only that it did occur. Children were exposed for a variety of reasons, none of which, it appears, caused any social comment. If the baby was malformed or unhealthy,<sup>146</sup> if he could not afford to bring it up (especially perhaps if it were a girl),<sup>147</sup> if the parents' relationship were bad,<sup>148</sup> the paterfamilias was at liberty to reject it.

Conversely it was possible for the man without children or who was simply desirous of having another to bring home and rear an infant that had been abandoned and exposed.<sup>149</sup> Likewise he could receive an unwanted child from neighbours and bring it up as his own.<sup>150</sup> A child acquired in this way was a sort of foster-child, an alumnus. The alumnus might be treated either as a slave<sup>151</sup> or as a free-born person. If free birth were known or were proved afterwards, the child was free. Many



slave alumni seem to have been manumitted.<sup>152</sup> There exist numerous epitaphs which were set up by loving 'fathers' or masters to their foster-children,<sup>153</sup> and in turn by the grateful foster-children themselves.<sup>154</sup>

In addition those who had no children could have recourse to adoption,<sup>155</sup> as we saw in the previous chapter, and this was the normal practice of families faced with extinction. Naturally it was for the paterfamilias to make the decision to adopt and then to choose a likely son. He would normally choose an adult, so that he could see what he was getting,<sup>156</sup> and frequently someone already connected with his family by ties of blood or friendship. Slaves were not uncommonly adopted after they had been given their freedom. The paterfamilias had, we must presume, to go through the correct legal procedure for adoption before the praetor.<sup>157</sup> There may have been some sort of ceremony in the household whereby the young man was accepted into his new family and its religious life.<sup>158</sup>

A number of other semi-religious duties were performed by the paterfamilias in his position as civil and religious head of the family. He provided his sons when small with the bullae and the toga praetexta of childhood, if they belonged to a citizen family at least. In doing this he was following the example, it was supposed, of Tarquinius Priscus.<sup>159</sup> He arranged the coming-of-age ceremonies of his sons,<sup>160</sup> and occasionally, when necessary, that of a friend's son perhaps, as Cicero did on behalf of his and Atticus' nephew.<sup>161</sup> No doubt the father directed the public part of the ceremony: amongst other things it was the custom, in accordance with an enactment of Servius Tullius, to deposit a coin for the lad in the temple of Iuventas, to show that he had come of age.<sup>162</sup> In addition the paterfamilias gave his consent to

the marriages of his children, or, taking a more positive hand in things, he could even force them to marry or choose their partners for them.<sup>163</sup> Where a daughter was concerned, he arranged the betrothal and the actual wedding with her fiancé.<sup>164</sup> He was said to give away his daughter;<sup>165</sup> and this was true in both a legal and a religious sense, for she left her father, his house and his family sacra to enter those of her bridegroom.

The last alteration to the family for which the paterfamilias was responsible was the manumission of a slave. The various methods of freeing slaves were of course essentially legal matters outside the scope of a thesis on household religion. Nevertheless the alteration in the status of the slave did affect the shape of the family unit and perhaps also, to a slight degree, the nature of its private religious life; and the paterfamilias was after all head of this civil and religious unit within the state. In addition to this consideration the ceremony of manumission did involve one or two magic rites, rites that were presumably a carry-over from an earlier period of religious practice and understanding, and therefore it has some relevance to this study.

The paterfamilias gave a slave his freedom for any one of a number of reasons, as a reward for his services,<sup>166</sup> because he was dying,<sup>167</sup> out of regard and simple friendship,<sup>168</sup> for the purpose of subsequent adoption or marriage,<sup>169</sup> or to earn posthumous praise for himself as a good master, since the new pilleati would be seen by everyone as they followed their dead master's bier and mourned his passing:<sup>170</sup> planctus est optime - manu misit aliquot, remarks one of Trimalchio's guests satyrically.<sup>171</sup> There were several methods of granting a slave his freedom. Informal private manumission, which conferred only freedom

and Latin rights, became very frequent, especially in the empire. The paterfamilias performed this either inter amicos,<sup>172</sup> with a few friends as witnesses and in a few simple words, such as liber esto, or else per epistolam,<sup>173</sup> or, in the later empire only, according to a Christian ceremony in ecclesia.<sup>174</sup> Informal manumission, since in the nature of things it was inferior to a more public and formal procedure, could in fact be superseded by formal manumission,<sup>175</sup> or underlined by proof of marriage and the birth of one child to the freedman, when the latter became a full Roman citizen.<sup>176</sup> These were regulations laid down in the Lex Iunia of 17BC.

Manumission was extremely common. In an effort perhaps to contain the growth of the lower classes or to protect freeborn heirs, Augustus passed a number of measures, embodied in the Lex Fufia Caninia of 2BC and the Lex Aelia Sentia of AD4, regulating and restricting the ages at which a person could either manumit or be manumitted, and restricting also the number of slaves a man could manumit in his will.<sup>177</sup>

Obviously the master initiated any type of formal manumission. In the case of manumission censu, which had probably become obsolete by the early empire, the master gave permission for the slave to be listed as a citizen by the censor at the next lustrum.<sup>178</sup> The common form of manumission, which was by uindicta, took place before a major magistrate, often the praetor.<sup>179</sup> The master accompanied the slave to the ceremony, and must have stated his desire to free the slave,<sup>180</sup> just as he did in private manumission. Much of the procedure is unclear. The actual word manumittere suggests that the master kept hold of the slave to indicate that he was in his power, in manu, and then ritually let him go out of his hand and at the same time out of his power. In the words of Paulus-Festus, dominus eius, aut caput eiusdem serui, aut aliud membrum tenens



dicebat: hunc hominem liberum esse uolo, et mittebat eum e manu.<sup>181</sup>

We know that the master gave the slave a slap on the face, alapa.<sup>182</sup>

This may have been done to reinforce the fact that he was letting him go by touching the part of his body that his Genius inhabited, or to

stimulate his Genius, now become that of a free man.<sup>183</sup> Or perhaps the slap was meant to impress the affair on the new freedman's memory, which was also in his head.<sup>184</sup> It appears that the alapa was administered in

private manumissions also. Another strange feature of manumission

uindicta was the turning round of the slave by, we suppose, the master.

Vna Quiritem // uertigo facit, quips Persius neatly.<sup>185</sup> Was the purpose

of this to symbolise the slave's changed position in life or to indicate that he now had the power to go anywhere he chose?<sup>186</sup> Or was the turning

round part of the actual manu mittere, when the master slapped the slave and sent him out of his hand? The three ritual actions seem to hang

together. With that we come to the end of the magic and symbolic elements in the procedure of manumission that were carried out by the master him-

self. By a third method he could simply manumit testamento, with a

properly-worded order in his will,<sup>187</sup> and thus win a crowd of grateful mourners.

The master did not lose all legal and religious authority over his ex-slave: instead he had a grateful freedman who very often still belonged to his household, with its cult, and whose new name was his own.<sup>188</sup> But in return for this adherence and the freedman's attentions he still had certain duties of maintenance towards him.<sup>189</sup> Indeed he might well grant him a place in the family tomb.<sup>190</sup>

We have examined the most important events in private life which affected the constitution of the family unit and for which the pater-familias was responsible. He also took a major part in a number of



religious festivals that recurred every year. Whereas this was the case usually because of his position as head of the household, in the festival which comes under consideration first he played a major role simply by virtue of being male.

This festival is very well-known: it was the Saturnalia, the carnival-like period of merry-making for all men, whatever their station. It was so popular that it was even celebrated by soldiers away from home on active service.<sup>191</sup> Numbers of ancient authors wrote books about the festival or else named after it.<sup>192</sup> The real nature of the ancient festival is not quite clear. As it fell just before the feast of Ops, which was on 19 December,<sup>193</sup> it may well have been agricultural and have originated as a time of jollification round about the winter solstice: at this point in the year the sowing was over,<sup>194</sup> there was for a space little to do, and all in a more primitive society who had worked together on the land, masters and slaves without distinction, rested and enjoyed themselves.<sup>195</sup> Indeed the idea and dream of a legendary Golden Age were strong in it;<sup>196</sup> the idea moreover fits the memory of an early peasant mode of life. Nevertheless as the Romans themselves knew it and wrote about it, it was much more of a town festival, particularly in the city of Rome, and a counterpart of the country Compitalia.<sup>197</sup> The god in whose honour it was supposed to be was a mysterious and antique deity. Saturn was Etruscan, and his name was connected by the ancients, though not by most modern scholars, with sowing and seed.<sup>198</sup> His temple was quite early, dating traditionally from 497BC,<sup>199</sup> and some cult associated with it was known from that time onwards.<sup>200</sup> But Saturn and his worship became subject to influence from Greece and further east. The classical Saturnalia itself was slightly tinged with a certain mystical or sinister significance which was quite foreign to Italy:<sup>201</sup> for example

we find traces of the idea that Saturn required human sacrifices.<sup>202</sup>

On a more mundane level the public ceremonial of the feast day, as the Romans knew it, was partly Greek: for instance sacrifice was made with the head uncovered, Graeco ritu.<sup>203</sup> And it was reorganised in this form in 217BC.<sup>204</sup>

The Saturnalia proper took place on a single dies festus, 17 December, the date of the dedication of the temple of Saturn.<sup>205</sup> Extra public holidays and festivities, in other words feriae, were added gradually:<sup>206</sup> Caesar and Augustus added two days,<sup>207</sup> Caligula another,<sup>208</sup> Domitian a fifth,<sup>209</sup> and eventually there were seven days.<sup>210</sup> Everyone, including slaves, could attend the sacrifice at the temple, the carrying out of the lectisternium (another Greek practice),<sup>211</sup> and then the great public feast that lasted far into the night.<sup>212</sup> Everywhere were cries of Io Saturnalia.<sup>213</sup> There is some evidence that shows were given in the amphitheatre during this time,<sup>214</sup> but they seem to be a much later addition to the festivities. Everyone was on holiday: there were no courts, no business, no war, no school.<sup>215</sup> It was a merry time of liberty and licence, acceptus Geniis,<sup>216</sup> when normal conventions did not matter. It was also a time of peace, good humour and geniality.<sup>217</sup> As a sign of this everyone who wished wore the pilleus, the felt cap which symbolised liberty, and the city was pilleata Roma.<sup>218</sup> No matter who one was, slave or citizen, rich or poor, there was equality for all.<sup>219</sup>

Naturally there was plenty of jollification in the private sphere too. At dinner-parties men did not wear the formal toga but the easier dinner-dress or synthesis.<sup>220</sup> They went in for a lot of riotous feasting accompanied by all sorts of amusements which were normally disgraceful in grave Roman eyes, activities like singing and dancing.<sup>221</sup> Of course there was a good deal of drinking too.<sup>222</sup> At a gathering a mock king,

the Rex Saturnalicus, was often elected to lead the proceedings and everyone else had to do exactly as he commanded, however ludicrous his commands.<sup>223</sup> Those who were more restrained even at this time, or those who were well-educated, indulged in discussion at the dinner-table instead.<sup>224</sup> There were witty or coarse jokes;<sup>225</sup> and there was much playing with dice and for nuts, and all sorts of gaming.<sup>226</sup>

Then there were the presents. The traditional ones may once really have been offerings given to augment the weak sun at the winter solstice and to encourage its return.<sup>227</sup> Candles and clay dolls were the typical presents of the Saturnalia. Candles seem to have been particularly preferred by the humble as gifts to their superiors.<sup>228</sup> There was a street-market in Rome called the Sigillaria,<sup>229</sup> and it was presumably here that people bought the sigillaria or little dolls.<sup>230</sup> The latter part of the Saturnalia came to be called Sigillaria sometimes too, from the traditional gifts.<sup>231</sup> People in all stations of life, and especially perhaps in widely differing stations, gave and received such tokens of friendship: patrons and clients typically exchanged gifts.<sup>232</sup> These Saturnalia or Sigillaria were usually munuscula, comprising all kinds of small things apart from the candles and dolls, various little offerings of food, a book perhaps or a poem, a sponge, toothpicks and so on.<sup>233</sup>

The personal and merry aspect of the Saturnalia was not closely linked with Saturn and his public cult. This perhaps helped the gradual fusion of the Roman festival with another winter festival from Byzantium, the Brumalia, which really fell on 24 November.<sup>234</sup>

By the fifth century the festival of the Kalends of January had however become the main occasion for winter jollification, although it had of course been in existence for some centuries before. The Kalends of January gradually acquired many of the features of the Saturnalia



besides its own. We noticed some features of the festival during the classical period in Chapter Four. Here Janus functioned as god of beginnings or the archway of the New Year, looking forwards to the future and backwards towards the past. There was a certain amount of private celebration. People might pray to Janus: for example Ausonius gives us a New Year prayer with the refrain Iane, ueni: nouus anne, ueni: renouate ueni, sol.<sup>235</sup> They might give him a simple offering of cake or mola salsa.<sup>236</sup> Above all people gave each other small presents, strenae. These were meant to be a good omen for the coming year, so that sweet things, like figs or gilded dates, or else coins, were given to signify, and bring about, prosperity.<sup>237</sup> Of course people wished each other a happy New Year,<sup>238</sup> and even lamps might bear a New Year inscription.<sup>239</sup> We have already seen how they regarded the events and actions of this first day of the year as symbolising and influencing the fortunes and the course of the whole year following and how they therefore sought to behave in a propitious way. Hence the nature of the gifts. There was feasting of course.<sup>240</sup> Another and much less-known custom belonging to the Kalends of January was the burning of the Kalends log.<sup>241</sup> No doubt the blazing of the lucky tinder formed yet another good omen for the year ahead. In later times New Year celebrations developed into a sort of riotous carnival, where men dressed up as women and animals, much to the distress of the Christians.<sup>242</sup> The Compitalia too seems to have disappeared into this whole complex of festivities which eventually became the modern Christmas and New Year.<sup>243</sup>

The late evidence in particular appears to indicate that it was chiefly men who took part in the Kalends of January celebrations. If we now turn to the Compitalia, we shall see that the paterfamilias



must have taken some part in it, although during the republic the festival was largely left to slaves to celebrate. In fact we know that Cicero expressly kept out of the way so as not to spoil his slaves' fun.<sup>244</sup> However originally, and often in classical times too, the paterfamilias must have supervised the sacrifice that was usually made to the Lares Compitales. In Rome the praetor announced the date of the festival with the formula dienoni populo Romano Quiritibus Compitalia erunt; quando concepta fuerunt, nefas;<sup>245</sup> the Compitalia was however no doubt older than the office of praetor. The date was usually the last day of the year or a day very early in January.<sup>246</sup> People wreathed their heads and put on their togae,<sup>247</sup> decorated the shrines and altars with flowers.<sup>248</sup> They sacrificed pigs or lambs,<sup>249</sup> often with the help of the popae<sup>250</sup> and the tibicen whom the paterfamilias had hired for the occasion; or they might give humbler offerings.<sup>251</sup> After the religious part of the festival was finished the worshippers no doubt feasted on the sacrificial food.<sup>252</sup> This also took place, we must suppose, under the general supervision of all the patresfamilias of the various households using the same compitum shrine.

The Dies Parentales in February and the dutiful attentions given during that time to the dead of each family were obviously the responsibility of the paterfamilias as head of the family unit. He no doubt arranged the procession of relatives to the family tomb with offerings suitable for the dead and with flowers for decking the tomb, he pronounced solemn words there, and organised the communal meal which the living shared with the dead.<sup>253</sup> Finally on 22 February he must have arranged the Caristia or Cara Cognatio,<sup>254</sup> the family meal which this time took place in the home and which was the occasion when all had to be harmonious and relatives who bore ill-will had to stay away. Other

attentions to the immediate dead of the family (at least) which were paid at such times as anniversaries of their funerals or other special days sometimes denoted in the will would presumably also be the concern of the paterfamilias.<sup>255</sup>

What appears to be a more ancient and primitive rite concerned with the dead is expressly said to have been carried out by the paterfamilias on behalf of the whole household. This was performed during the Lemuria, on 9, 11 and 13 May. These days are marked in the calendars,<sup>256</sup> but all we know about, and that is principally from Ovid,<sup>257</sup> is this domestic rite. The dead involved here were not the family dead, who were duly cared for and who might be regarded as looking favourably on their living descendants: they were lemures, fearful homeless ghosts that might enter the house at night and bring trouble and terror into it.<sup>258</sup> So the paterfamilias, or at least the more superstitious kind of paterfamilias in the classical period, had to take proper ritual steps to get these harmful spirits out of the house. In primitive style the rite took place at midnight. The paterfamilias washed his hands and made sure that nothing was fastened round his feet. Making a magic sign with his fingers and thumb to keep away evil spirits, he walked around throwing behind his back black beans, which were supposed to have some strange religious character about them, saying all the while haec ego mitto, // his ... redimo meque meosque fabis.<sup>259</sup> Nine times he had to do this, and the ghosts were supposed to come and eat the beans. Then he purified himself with water once more, and to the loud din of bronze instruments he repeated nine times the words Manes exite paterni (both politely and euphemistically), and could then at last look round. It was apparently a very ancient and primitive feast of the dead belonging to the old Roman year before January and February were added.<sup>260</sup> The

attendant belief that May was an unlucky month for weddings still existed in Ovid's day.<sup>261</sup>

It is probable that the Lemuria was kept by few families, since there is little reference to it in literature. The festivals already considered were major ones in the private year. No doubt there was some adherence to lesser rites, and presumably some patresfamilias did in fact carry them out. One possible example of such a minor religious occasion is the Portunalia on 17 August<sup>262</sup> - although it is not certain that this was celebrated privately as well as publicly. As far as can be made out from the corrupt text of Varro,<sup>263</sup> which has been subject to various emendations, keys were thrown into the fire on this day for the purpose, one presumes, of purification or possibly revitalisation. As we saw in Chapter Two, the relevant god was Portunus, before he became the god of the Tiber harbour.

Such then were the duties and responsibilities of the paterfamilias as high priest of the family. He may also have been generally responsible for the more mundane religious acts of every day, but it seems that it was in these that the other members of the family could most easily take over from him. It was no doubt frequently the case that he was away on business or on military service, but we are not therefore to imagine that the religious life of the household evaporated in his absence. Even the meal-time offering to the household gods was not carried out by him as far as appears from the extant evidence.<sup>264</sup> However it may well be that after the relevant decree of the senate in 30BC he poured the required libation to the emperor and led everyone in rising from the table and blessing the numen of Augustus.<sup>265</sup> Other evidence for the slighter duties of everyday religion informs us that a man who owned a ranch and normally lived in town was supposed to do honour to the household



gods of his farmhouse when he arrived there.<sup>266</sup> He would perform the main religious rites on behalf of the slave and freedman household,<sup>267</sup> but otherwise he could, if he wished, delegate the performance of private cult to the bailiff and the bailiff's wife.<sup>268</sup>

It is probable that the paterfamilias was usually accompanied by assistants when he performed any religious rite,<sup>269</sup> except at the Lemuria. On the wall-paintings at Delos two or more togati can be seen at the altar; the foremost of these, the one who is usually offering incense or holding out the patera, is presumably the head of the household.<sup>270</sup>

The Roman man had also the possibility of engaging in a purely personal worship of the gods as well as in the communal cult of the family and the household. He could open the lararium and pray to the household gods whenever he wished.<sup>271</sup> He could be pious or not, as he wished.<sup>272</sup> He could go out into the town and make dedications to any of the city gods he wished. He could choose any god for his own, a favourite among his Di Penates, to carry about with him, as Sulla carried his lucky statuette of Apollo.<sup>273</sup> He could set up epitaphs or inscriptions to anyone he pleased, mainly of course to the members of his family and household.<sup>274</sup> And he in turn had inscriptions dedicated to him, on a safe return home for example,<sup>275</sup> or at death, by wife, sister, children, alumnus, freedman, slave or friend.<sup>276</sup> Lastly he might make provision for his own funeral rites and cult after death, particularly if he had no children who would concern themselves with these matters: he could make a will setting out the funerary arrangements he desired, for an heir or possibly a freedman to carry out.<sup>277</sup>

Perhaps the most personal and special religious celebration that any and every man could hold was his birthday. The birthday was infinitely more of an occasion than it is nowadays.<sup>278</sup> The god of the birthday was



the man's own Genius, his life-principle that existed because he had been born. We also find references to Natalis, apparently the spirit of the birthday,<sup>279</sup> which was after all called dies natalis or simply natalis.<sup>280</sup> Birthdays counted as feriae priuatae.<sup>281</sup>

On the great day the whole household set about decorating the house and lighting the lamps.<sup>282</sup> The altar was garlanded.<sup>283</sup> The birthday child put a wreath on his head, and sometimes unguent on his hair,<sup>284</sup> and dressed in his white toga or the toga praetexta.<sup>285</sup> Then, approaching the household altar, where he believed his Genius was present, he made offerings of wine, incense, cakes, and so on,<sup>286</sup> and occasionally even a small victim,<sup>287</sup> praying to his Genius for good fortune and any special favours he hoped to gain. In Bulard we may read a very full description of the birthday sacrifice,<sup>288</sup> but I am not at all sure that the type of scene he describes does in fact depict a birthday: it might equally be part of the Compitalia ritual, or merely show an ordinary, unspecific offering at the altar. Anyway, family, friends and clients gave him presents and good wishes.<sup>289</sup> There was music, perhaps also dancing and games.<sup>290</sup> Often he would invite his friends to a more or less elaborate dinner.<sup>291</sup>

Quite a proportion of the birthdays known to us from literature took place on the Kalends or Ides of the month, and so it seems that there must have been a tendency to celebrate them on the nearest normal feast day rather than on the day they actually occurred.<sup>292</sup> Not only did the Roman celebrate his own birthday, he also celebrated the birthdays of his nearest and dearest even when they were not present in the home for the occasion: he himself could perform the birthday ritual for an absent member of his family,<sup>293</sup> or for one of his friends or indeed for the emperor.<sup>294</sup> He might even go to the length of actively remembering

the birthdays of famous men both living and dead: the dead Vergil was apparently fortunate in winning this kind of attention.<sup>295</sup>

In considering the religious role of men in the Roman family we must make some sort of distinction between men in general and men who were patresfamilias or heads of their family units - though in fact during the classical period, most men probably became patresfamilias at some point in their lives. Every man, just because he was a man, possessed his own Genius and could choose his own Di Penates to adhere to, and even if he were merely an unemancipated son, a freedman, a Latin or an alien he enjoyed something of the religious position of the paterfamilias, if not his actual potestas, in practice. His religious competence in the state was virtually complete, apart from the fact that the man who came of a good family had greater opportunity for religious action. The paterfamilias as head of the family had a positive and active responsibility for the major alterations to its structure: he was essentially the instigator and the supervisor of these changes, mingled as they were with religious rites and customs. Thus he was responsible for funerals and the necessary purificatory rites following on them, for arranging his own betrothal and marriage, for divorce if he had reason to want it, for the acknowledgement or rejection of his children and the registration of their births, for adoption, for the coming-of-age ceremonies and the marriages of his children, and for the manumission of his slaves. Men were the chief participants in such festivals as the Saturnalia and that of the Kalends of January. The paterfamilias presumably supervised the Compitalia and the Parentalia, and sometimes he might carry out the Lemuria rites. As high priest of the family his services were less necessary in the ordinary cult of every day, but on a personal level he had the freedom

to worship his own gods and make dedications to them, or not, as he chose, to see to his own funeral arrangements, and to celebrate his birthday. So the religious role of the paterfamilias, and to some extent of any man, in the family was very positive and of extreme importance.

## CHAPTER SIX

THE RELIGIOUS ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE  
FAMILY

Since the man was head of the family and its high priest in the very positive way demonstrated in the previous chapter, it follows that the woman had no such power and position. In normal circumstances she did not initiate changes to the structure of the family nor direct religious celebrations. But her sex gave her a most important, if more passive, function in the life of the family.

In the unsophisticated society that preceded the classical and even the historical periods of Rome, a society dominated as it must have been by men and male thought, women were believed to be weak and to have less numen within themselves than men. So in the most primitive era women were actually feared, lest, being negative, so to speak, they might somehow withdraw strength and numen from men. At the same time there appears to have been felt some occult force in the sexuality of women: women were essentially dangerous, powerful for good or evil.<sup>1</sup> We know that this type of belief did exist in early times from the clear vestiges of it in the classical period. Pliny's collection of adages and recipes from folklore shows that menstrual blood, for instance, could be regarded as either dangerous or beneficial in certain circumstances, particularly in an agricultural environment.<sup>2</sup> In this connection we may also remember one or two ancient prohibitions on grinding corn and cooking:<sup>3</sup> presumably wives tainted with menstrual fluid might damage the food that was holy. Then again, according to some ancient customs, a man had to send word of his arrival to his wife, and also a man first set eyes on his bride in the dark; apparently these precautions were taken in case the man were harmed by coming upon the women unawares.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately for Roman women this primitive fear of their sexuality was not



much in evidence in classical times.

All the same one or two other possible indications of it still existed. Women were not permitted to attend sacrifices to the rustic Mars Silvanus,<sup>5</sup> for example, or sacrifices at the ara maxima of Hercules at Rome.<sup>6</sup> The remark of Paulus-Festus is relevant here: lictor in quibusdam sacris clamitabat: hostis, uinctus, mulier, uirgo exesto.<sup>7</sup> Latte suggests that these people were excluded because bindings and fetters were dangerous in magic; but the women and girls could easily have undone belts, sandals and hair-ribbons. It might equally well be the case that all these types of people were inferior in numen, prisoners too being less than real men in their misfortune, and that therefore they were dangerous to men. Women did not swear by Hercules either.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that these gods whom women were supposed to keep away from were to some extent manifestations of male virility.<sup>9</sup> So the restrictions on women seem sensible if one admits the existence of apprehension concerning female sexuality. (On the other hand, it appears, from some very confused evidence, that women could pray to Fortuna Virilis on 1 April!<sup>10</sup> However it is impossible to stress this since the rite is mixed up in our sources with that belonging to Venus Verticordia.)

In a general way women enjoyed considerable religious status simply because they could bear children, and whereas the weakness of the female sex and the menstrual cycle were to be feared, this mysterious and exclusive ability was to be respected and to be viewed above all as an obvious manifestation of the life-force. So women acquired a sort of sacredness which arose from their ability to produce children for the state, the gens and the family. The pregnant woman was overflowing with life-force in an even more apparent way. At one time women were

not allowed to drink wine,<sup>11</sup> and stories were told of how offenders were put to death or otherwise punished by their husbands. The usual reason for this severity put forward by writers of the classical period was that drinking led to bad behaviour and adultery.<sup>12</sup> But there could have been an earlier reason, namely that wine was thought to impair the semi-divine process of conception, early pregnancy and lactation;<sup>13</sup> this is an idea that to some extent is still with us today (although in fact all that has been clearly proved is that real alcoholism is detrimental to the unborn child). A number of ancient writers suggest that women kissed their relatives in order to show that they had not drunk any wine, and if they had, they were found out by this method.<sup>14</sup> As this is somewhat unconvincing, Rose suggests that a woman could kiss within the circle of close relatives where in early times she would not remarry, since marriage was outside the gens.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps that was so, but we have strayed too far into the realms of hypothesis to say anything definite. However we do know that women were viewed as such fantastic and mysterious beings that legends arose describing their impregnation by divine fire or fertile snakes and the subsequent births of such heroes as Alexander the Great, conceived by a snake in his mother's bed (although Livy does not believe the story!),<sup>16</sup> Romulus, conceived by a phallus in the fire,<sup>17</sup> Caeculus, conceived by a spark, then abandoned, and later found beside a fire,<sup>18</sup> Servius Tullius, conceived by a phallus in the fire,<sup>19</sup> and Scipio Africanus, conceived by a snake in his mother's bed.<sup>20</sup> In ways like these women were valued because of a biological accident.

It is a common belief in less sophisticated societies that special religious power resides in chastity rather than fecundity; that, for example, the prayers of virgin priestesses are more effective in bringing prosperity and good fortune to the state.<sup>21</sup> For the Romans

however this concept was weak: they concentrated on the divine power of sexuality rather than on that of celibacy. But they did have their Vestal Virgins to add the extra force of their own special holiness to the religious rites of Rome.<sup>22</sup> The Vestal Virgins joined with the matronae of the city to carry out the fertility rites of the Bona Dea,<sup>23</sup> and both classes of women took part in expiations made to Juno Regina.<sup>24</sup>

Just as every living man possessed within himself his own divine Genius, so every woman had her own personal Juno, her corresponding life-principle, which was manifested in a different way, naturally, from the man's Genius, namely in child-bearing.<sup>25</sup> The word iuno probably has something to do with 'youthful vigour', and may be compared with iuuenis.<sup>26</sup> Presumably the Juno, like the Genius, was situated in the head, and a lively Juno would cause her owner's hair to flourish. In fact a woman's eyebrows were said to be sacred to the great goddess Juno. Varro suggests that this was so because the eyes that see the light symbolise life themselves, just as light does.<sup>27</sup> But it was the eyebrows and not the eyes that were sacred to Juno, and eyebrows could hardly be related to lux in the way eyes can. In addition the concept of lux as life seems too sophisticated for the early period of religious thought to which this connection with Juno no doubt belonged. In fact likely reasons are put forward both by Onians, who says that the eyebrows, like the hair, were a kind of outcrop of the Juno in the head,<sup>28</sup> and by Rose, who suggests in a more general way that flourishing eyebrows were the indication of a fertile woman and one favoured by Juno.<sup>29</sup>

There is a complete lack of evidence for the personal Juno in the preclassical period. The only early reference appears in the Arval rite, and alludes to a Iuno deae Diae.<sup>30</sup> Either women and their Junones were too unimportant to be mentioned, or else women really did not acquire



them until the age of Augustus. This seems very strange since the concept of the Genius is early enough and is exactly paralleled by that of the Juno. But Tibullus is the first to allude to the Juno.<sup>31</sup> Like the Genius the personal Juno came in later times to be regarded as the spirit of a dead woman.<sup>32</sup> It never developed however into an externalised guardian spirit of groups of people or of places. In art the personal Juno probably resembled the great goddess Juno.<sup>33</sup> It is also possible, according to Bulard, that she was symbolised by the peacock.<sup>34</sup>

Every woman and girl, slaves also, had her Juno.<sup>35</sup> While the Juno of the mistress of the household, for example, does not seem to have acquired the particular status of the Genius of the paterfamilias, it was still true that slaves, freedmen and others could dedicate inscriptions and monuments to the Juno of their mistress as well as to the Genius of their master.<sup>36</sup> A woman might swear by her Juno too.<sup>37</sup>

The personal Juno was, we must presume, an offshoot of the great goddess Juno, who looked after all the important events of a woman's life and the aspects of it that were associated with sexuality. It is interesting that only women, and not men, lived under the care of a major divinity in this way. Such was the case in the classical period. It is likely that Juno superseded various smaller, specialised spirits involved in the different moments of a woman's life, and that she took on their functions, rendering them superfluous. The Mena to whom Augustine, following Varro, refers may have been one of these minor deities; she was apparently the spirit of menstruation.<sup>38</sup> However Juno, as goddess of the lunar month and as one worshipped on the Kalends of each month, acquired an association with the female cycle probably at a fairly early date,<sup>39</sup> and very little is heard of Mena. As Juno Pronuba



she became the goddess of the wedding ceremony, as Juno Lucina the goddess of childbirth. These functions of Juno will be considered in greater detail below. Under Greek influence the state goddess Juno began to be interpreted as Juno Regina, the wife of Jupiter, and the divine pattern of the matrona. We find evidence of this from Plautus onwards.<sup>40</sup> So it was logical that she became the protector of all married women.

So much for the religiousness of women in general. However they seem to have enjoyed greater religious and social prestige according to their marital status. Indeed their marital status almost was their social status. A brief consideration of the religious competence of women outside the house given below will make this clear. Certainly it was desirable for a woman to be a matrona, a married woman. As a matrona she was entitled to wear special clothes and to dress her hair in a particular fashion. Her garment was the long stola often mentioned in classical literature.<sup>41</sup> In her hair she was entitled to tie the matron's uittae,<sup>42</sup> a privilege which was supposed to have been granted to married women in recognition of their services in the struggle with Coriolanus.<sup>43</sup> These uittae would be tied carelessly round the hair, which would have been loosened, as a sign of mourning.<sup>44</sup> The antique hairstyle which she was allowed to adopt was called the tutulus, a kind of pyramid of hair.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that she also wore certain distinguishing articles of jewellery.<sup>46</sup> These were the badges of the class of matronae.

It was even more laudable for a woman to be a materfamilias. The precise significance of the titles matrona and materfamilias was not agreed by ancient authorities: some made them dependent upon the number of children a woman had, but all the same they understood materfamilias as the superior term.<sup>47</sup> It is most likely that matrona simply denoted

a married woman, while the materfamilias was technically a woman married in manu to a paterfamilias or the son of a paterfamilias.<sup>48</sup> in other words, although her title suggests that she was the counterpart of the paterfamilias, she was only materfamilias if she was subject to her husband.

Augustus' Lex Iulia and Papia Poppaea of 18BC to AD 9 attempted to compel all women of marriageable age to marry.<sup>49</sup> The law sought to enforce what was in any case the normal and natural tendency of Roman society. It was thought virtuous in a Roman wife to have borne several children. And this attitude also was reinforced by Augustus' granting of civic privileges, embodied in the ius trium liberorum, and laid down in the Lex Papia Poppaea, to the mothers of several children.<sup>50</sup> This quality of fertility was of course a social and a civic virtue rather than a religious one.<sup>51</sup>

There was one quality of a wife that was religious, namely that of being uniuira. The woman who was married to a living husband and to that one only throughout her life was in a class above others: she was stronger in her religious efficacy. From the time of Plautus (at least) into the Christian era marriage to one man was the ideal:<sup>52</sup> in the words of Valerius Maximus, quae uno contentae matrimonio fuerant corona pudicitiae honorabantur.<sup>53</sup> The uniuira was commemorated as such on her tombstone.<sup>54</sup> We should note that for the Romans (but not the Christians) the woman's husband had to be alive for her to come into this highest category: it was less of a good thing to be a virtuous widow.

In the civic sphere woman's status was of course inferior to man's. In law she scarcely counted as a person in her own right, and even in the classical and later periods, when her general position as regards property and freedom of action was improved, like her children she was

still theoretically subject to a man, whether her husband, her father or a guardian. However this legal and civil inferiority was not entirely balanced by a comparable inferiority in religious affairs. Admittedly her position in the family was somewhat inferior, in that the pater-familias alone was head and high priest of the family unit and therefore his wife was technically subservient. But in a more general way the Romans in their religious life by no means undervalued the female sex for what it could offer.

If we turn now to the religious competence of women in the religious world outside the home, we shall find at once that it was considerable, if restricted to the kind of deities who might be expected to have a particular interest in the life of women, in fertility, child-bearing and the rearing of children. It was not open for Roman women, since they were inferior citizens, to forge a public career for themselves by holding priesthoods and magistracies alike, as their husbands could. On the other hand they could attain to a number of high priesthoods, such as those of the Vestal Virgins or the Flaminica, of the Regina sacrorum,<sup>55</sup> of Damiatrix in the cult of the Bona Dea,<sup>56</sup> of Ceres,<sup>57</sup> or even, later in the empire, those concerned with the cult of women of imperial family, Livia,<sup>58</sup> for example, or Poppaea, who had achieved the distinction of deification.<sup>59</sup>

In the religion of the state women of superior marital status as well as superior birth were the ones more eligible for priesthoods and the ones who had more opportunity for religious action. One example is afforded by the uniuira in her perfect religious integrity. Only an uniuira could become Flaminica.<sup>60</sup> Only the daughters of uniuira were eligible for the Vestal priesthood.<sup>61</sup> Only uniuira were permitted to worship at the shrines of such exclusive goddesses as Pudicitia, both

Patricia and Plebeia,<sup>62</sup> Fortuna Muliebris,<sup>63</sup> and only they, we are told, might crown Mater Matuta.<sup>64</sup> As Livy says, nulla nisi spectatae pudicitiae matrona et quae uno uiro nupta fuisset ius sacrificandi (to Pudicitia) haberet.<sup>62</sup>

The matronae of the city of Rome and its environs were a class endowed with some religious pull. Numbers of the married women were elected on certain occasions to fulfil religious functions on behalf of the whole state. Such public action by a number of women seems to have begun in the fifth century BC, perhaps at a time when their status was being raised, although legend had it that the Sabine women had brought about peace in the Sabine War.<sup>65</sup> Although we have no definite evidence for an organised and structured ordo matronarum, it seems probable that these chosen matronae were originally patrician and later perhaps members of the two upper classes; this seems to be true at any rate of their elected leaders.<sup>66</sup> They were thought to be magically effective in times of public luctus, as after the defeat at Cannae,<sup>67</sup> and in times of national disaster or when terrific portents occurred. A number of women went out in procession to persuade Coriolanus and the Volsci not to attack Rome: they were rewarded by the right to wear an honourable head-dress<sup>68</sup> and by the establishment of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris.<sup>69</sup> After the capture of Veii in 396BC Camillus brought the goddess of that town, Juno Regina, to Rome and a band of matronae took part in the festivities;<sup>70</sup> they offered her a gift and lectisternium in 217BC, donated money from their dowries in order to offer her a gold basin after portents in 207BC, and repeated a similar offering in 200BC.<sup>71</sup> During the Gallic invasion crisis the matronae contributed their gold, probably their jewellery, as an offering to the Delphic Apollo;<sup>72</sup> they were rewarded with the right to use the sacred pilentum ad sacra ludosque.<sup>73</sup> In 204BC the matronae



helped to bring the image of the Magna Mater into Rome; they were led by Claudia Quinta who, by fulfilling this role, vindicated her own matronly pudicitia (we notice with interest).<sup>74</sup> After portents in 99BC they made offering to Ceres and Proserpina.<sup>75</sup> In 17BC they took part in the Secular Games by praying to Juno Regina on behalf of the state and by holding sellisternia.<sup>76</sup> After the fire in Nero's reign they made supplication to Vulcan, Ceres and Proserpina, and the highest group, the uniuirae, propitiated Juno with sellisternia and peruigilia.<sup>77</sup> This then was the sort of religious service to the state that women were entitled to, and able to, perform. Their offerings and supplications were directed mainly to women's goddesses at various crises of history.

There existed a number of cults for the benefit of the married women of the state; in some cases the cults were conducted solely by them. Although the goddesses concerned were not of course exactly part of Roman household religion, they were at any rate closely connected with the daily life of married women and could be appealed to when necessary in domestic crises.

One of the older among these cults was that of Mater Matuta. She had a temple in the Forum Boarium dating from 396BC and replacing one attributed to Servius Tullius.<sup>78</sup> The later Romans regarded her as a dawn goddess to be identified with Ino or Leucothea.<sup>79</sup> But in view of the title Mater this seems unlikely; and Matuta has been connected with the Oscan Maatuis and with maturus.<sup>80</sup> The goddess was concerned with growing children. At her festival, the Matralia, on 11 June, the matronae prayed, we are told, for their sisters' children.<sup>81</sup> This is puzzling. The standard modern interpretation is that Ovid and the Romans in general misunderstood a possible use of the word sororiare, which means 'to swell', referring it to soror, and therefore thought

that the women prayed for the children of their sisters.<sup>82</sup> But if we introduce the word sororiare we must be dealing with adolescent girls, and the words used of the children do not imply that they were adolescent. Even if Ovid and the others misinterpreted the original force of the rite, it still must have been the case that in their day women prayed for their sisters' children. Gagé suggests that at one time the women acted as godmothers and that this was a relic of an early social custom,<sup>83</sup> but there is no evidence that would allow us to be certain about this. It seems impossible to come to any conclusion at all about this aspect of the conduct of the rites to Mater Matuta. According to Tertullian only uniuirae were permitted to crown the goddess.<sup>84</sup> The festival was evidently concerned with the promotion of Roman families, since slaves were excluded.<sup>85</sup> The matronae offered testuacia, old-fashioned cakes baked in clay, to the goddess.<sup>86</sup>

As we have already noticed, the cult of Fortuna Muliebris was connected by Roman tradition with the Coriolanus story and the period 490 to 480BC.<sup>87</sup> Gagé sees in the supposed wife and mother of the traitor the priestesses of Fortuna,<sup>88</sup> but one certainly could not insist on this. Anyway a temple and altar were said to have been decreed by the Senate and dedicated by the matronae.<sup>89</sup> Two statues are heard of in the tradition, one dedicated by the Senate and the other by the women.<sup>90</sup> Memories of two occasions on which a statue was believed to have spoken, in the words, according to Valerius Maximus, rite me, matronae, dedistis, riteque dedicastis, as well as the two statues would suggest perhaps that once there had been a double Fortuna.<sup>91</sup> Be that as it may, only uniuirae could approach this goddess,<sup>92</sup> who after all represented a woman's good luck and destiny, that is, her husband and children presumably.

As we should expect, the cult of the great fertility goddess, the

Bona Dea, who was similar to, and so could be identified with, so many other divinities,<sup>93</sup> was carried out by women, men being absolutely excluded: Cicero speaks of ei deae, cuius ne nomen quidem uiros scire fas est, quam iste idcirco Bonam dicit, and Ovid of her templa ... oculos exosa uiriles.<sup>94</sup> The dedication day of her temple on the Aventine was 1 May; it had originally been dedicated by a virgin of the Clausi, and was restored by Livia.<sup>95</sup> As befitted an old earth-mother type of deity, wine was not permitted as an offering to her, or at least it was not called wine.<sup>96</sup> (We recall the ancient prohibition on drinking wine which had applied to women.) Myrtle was also forbidden, perhaps because it was associated with purification; our sources give explanatory myths.<sup>97</sup> Medicamenta were sold at the temple.<sup>98</sup> Typically the victim to the earth-goddess was a sow.<sup>99</sup> The more famous part of her cult took place in December, the date of the sacrifice not being fixed and therefore not appearing in the Fasti, in the house of one of the senior magistrates: in 63BC it took place in Cicero's house.<sup>100</sup> All men and everything male was excluded,<sup>101</sup> and the rites were performed by the matronae and the Vestal Virgins<sup>102</sup> at night and in secret.<sup>103</sup> The sacrifice was performed on behalf of the whole state - fit pro populo Romano -,<sup>104</sup> no doubt to promote its material and human prosperity. The presence of a man invalidated the whole ceremony, as when it was violated by Clodius.<sup>105</sup>

Venus Verticordia was concerned with another aspect of the life of the married woman. The cult that we know of was established rather late. In 114BC, after the portent involving Helvia and the Vestal scandal, a shrine was dedicated to this Venus as turner of attitudes to proper behaviour: Venus uerso nomina corde tenet, as Ovid writes.<sup>106</sup> A statue had in fact been dedicated a century before this by the chaste Sulpicia, the wife of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 237BC; she had been chosen



for the honour from a hundred matronae.<sup>107</sup> It seems fairly likely that this goddess of feminine charm and sexual grace replaced an earlier Venus.<sup>108</sup> On 1 April, the Veneralia, married women of good life performed this rite:<sup>109</sup> they undressed and bathed the statue of Venus, and bathed themselves,<sup>110</sup> wearing purifying myrtle crowns on their heads,<sup>111</sup> and drank milk, honey and poppy (probably an aphrodisiac). However another and rather similar rite was practised on the same day in honour of Fortuna Virilis. Cults of Fortuna were always thought by the Romans to date back to the time of Servius Tullius,<sup>112</sup> and this cult may well have been old in fact. Women of humbler birth were supposed to offer incense and to supplicate the goddess in the men's baths.<sup>113</sup> Whatever form the cult originally took, it was later similar to that of Venus Verticordia, and indeed the two were probably combined.<sup>114</sup>

There is some evidence of a cult of Pudicitia, whose statue was said to resemble that of Fortuna Muliebris.<sup>115</sup> She had a shrine and altar in the Forum Boarium,<sup>116</sup> and the cult was carried on by matronae. In 295BC a rival cult of Pudicitia Plebeia was founded by Verginia, who made part of her house in the Vicus Longus into a shrine;<sup>117</sup> the cult repeated that of the older Pudicitia. Only uniuirae of evident virtue were allowed to sacrifice at either shrine.<sup>118</sup> However unchaste women and women of any sort started to go to the shrines and they eventually fell into oblivion.<sup>119</sup>

Lastly we learn from Ovid alone that on the Vestalia on 15 June, when the penus Vestae was open, matronae entered it with bare feet, presumably in order to pray to the goddess.<sup>120</sup>

The married woman, and the uniuira in particular, could share in some of the great religious occasions of the state. She could also go out and worship a number of goddesses who were closely concerned with



the many aspects of her private life.

Women without husbands were inferior in social and religious stature. We know much less about them. Spinsters, prostitutes and the 'concubines' of soldiers and patrons fall into this class, and probably married freedwomen too, as not being perfectly complete matronae. Widows and divorcées presumably enjoyed more prestige than the unmarried, simply because they were still married women, but less than the real matronae. All these lower classes of women were excluded from the highest matronly cults of Fortuna Muliebris and Pudicitia, and perhaps partly from that of Mater Matuta. Unmarried women were apparently excluded from all the cults which have been considered above, and naturally so, since such cults, which promoted married life and the family, were irrelevant to them. They were not entitled to the matron's form of dress or headgear; and in particular meretrices apud ueteres subcinctiore ueste utebantur, as Nonius informs us.<sup>121</sup> An ancient law of Numa forbade prostitutes to touch the temple of Juno on pain of sacrificing a female lamb with their own hair undone.<sup>122</sup> Some of these women may have had their own gods who were believed to be more concerned with them and their situation. For example, during a time of crisis in 217BC, freedwomen joined in state ceremonies of prayer and supplication by contributing money for a gift to Feronia,<sup>123</sup> a goddess partly concerned in the freeing of slaves. A certain Salacia is called by Servius dea meretricum, but more probably she was the power involved in the welling-up of water.<sup>124</sup> Unhappily the absence of any further evidence forces us to stop even this brief consideration of the unmarried women of Rome in religious affairs here.

At this point we should return to the role of women in the private life of the household. In those family events which tended to alter the structure of the family unit and where the man took the initiative

and the responsibility, the woman sometimes played an extremely important part, but as a passive subject rather than an initiator: she was the one to whom great things happened; she did not exactly do them herself.

One of the two greatest events that involved a woman was of course her wedding. Although this was a social and legal affair, it was also imbued and surrounded with religious and magical customs.

The marriageable girl ought first of all to be a virgin, but above all fertile,<sup>125</sup> and preferably also young<sup>126</sup> and rich:<sup>127</sup> in Plautus the elderly bride has to bring a good dowry as compensation.<sup>126</sup> It was thought shameful to bring no dowry at all.<sup>128</sup> Indeed the Senate provided dowries for the daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder rather than allow the family of such a great man to be disgraced; and there were other instances of this.<sup>129</sup> As we have seen repeatedly, marriage was thought to be essentially for the purpose of begetting legitimate children.<sup>130</sup>

The girl might be betrothed at any age, usually from seven on,<sup>131</sup> and for any length of time, but practice was regularised by Augustus to a maximum of two years before the wedding, that is, at ten years of age at the earliest.<sup>132</sup> Her wedding was arranged in normal circumstances by her father and her bridegroom. The father had either chosen the bridegroom himself - we remember how Augustus in notorious fashion married off Julia to three men in turn<sup>133</sup> - or he consented to her choice. At the sponsalia the two men agreed the terms of the dowry, if, as was usual, there was one.<sup>134</sup> Sometimes it was a hardship for the bride's family to pay the dowry, and as we saw, the Senate or the emperor occasionally helped out. Scipio Africanus the Younger's aunts' dowries were agreed by his father, but paid later by his mother and Scipio himself.<sup>135</sup> The dowry often comprised such things as jewellery and clothes for the girl, perhaps some land.<sup>136</sup> There are extant two papyri of about

AD 100 from the Greek part of the empire: in one the dowry comprises land, jewellery, clothes, ornaments, household articles and furniture; in the other, jewellery, clothes and household articles.<sup>137</sup> Sometimes large amounts of money were promised, and were paid in instalments. The sums varied from 40,000 sestertii, through 50,000 (brought by Megullia 'Dotata') and 100,000 (allowed to Agrippa's daughter) to 400,000.<sup>138</sup> Rich girls might bring as much as a million sestertii in Rome.<sup>139</sup>

The couple must have signified their intention to marry, and it is possible that they made an offering to the household gods.<sup>140</sup> A lot of money might be spent on both the sponsalia and the wedding, on the girl's dress among other things.<sup>141</sup> Sumptuary laws, for example, the Lex Licinia and later the Lex Iulia, limited the expense permissible to 200 and 1,000 sest. respectively.<sup>142</sup> But one had the choice of not being extravagant.<sup>143</sup> The young man gave his fiancée an iron ring, or perhaps something more like a modern engagement ring. The young couple also sometimes exchanged presents, arrabo or arra sponsalicia, which might consist of jewellery; these helped to cement the marriage agreement.<sup>144</sup>

If the girl had no father to arrange these things for her, some other close male relative, brother, grandfather or nephew, did so.<sup>145</sup> If she were an older woman or had been married before, she sometimes acted in fact, if not in legal theory, on her own behalf.<sup>146</sup> Tullia did and thereby opposed her father's wishes.<sup>147</sup> The satirists inveighed against the kind of woman who rushed from one marriage to the next simply pleasing herself: feminae non consulum numero sed maritorum annis suos computant, wrote Seneca.<sup>148</sup>

Although we cannot of course be definite about the age at which

Roman girls were married, there are indications of the more usual age limits within which they normally did. Roman doctors generally believed that puberty occurred at fourteen,<sup>149</sup> but girls were married younger than that, when they were uiripotentes, that is, legally at the age of twelve;<sup>150</sup> and as far as we know the majority of marriages took place when the girl was between twelve and fifteen. Some were at ten or eleven,<sup>151</sup> and Christians tended to marry slightly later. The men concerned were several years older, or even much older, than they. This early age for marriage may have been preferred perhaps because it guaranteed the girl's purity.<sup>152</sup> There were of course plenty of second and further marriages both because of the high mortality rate, among men in military service and among women in child-bearing, and also the ease of divorce.

The day chosen for the wedding had to be a favourable one. In fact everything was done, in a magical or ritual sense, to make the wedding lucky and auspicious. For in a primitive society the bride was thought to be exposed to all sorts of dangers at this transition period, when she left her virginity behind her to become a married woman, when she left the house that had always protected her for another, strange house, when she left her family's household gods and had to be accepted instead by her new family's gods, and when during the transition she had no protection. The rites that were employed to guard her during this dangerous period are usually called 'threshold rites'.<sup>153</sup> In addition it was necessary to ensure that the marriage would be lucky and fertile. Thus many rites and conventions had come into being at an early date, for the purpose of rendering the whole affair safe and fortunate; these were still followed in the historical period, even though much of their real force and significance had by this time been forgotten.



So if the family were at all cautious, they commenced by choosing a favourable day, particularly for a first wedding.<sup>154</sup> A large number of days in the Roman calendar were unlucky, those assigned to rites for the dead, like the Parentalia in February and the Lemuria in May,<sup>155</sup> or to purificatory rites like those for the temple of Vesta in early June,<sup>156</sup> those days when the mundus apertus occurred and anniversaries of national disasters; the Kalends of March, festival days and all Kalends, Nones and Ides were unpropitious, perhaps because dies atri followed them.<sup>157</sup> In choosing the occasion for the wedding all these days would be avoided. Less care was taken for the weddings of widows,<sup>158</sup> and presumably divorcées, simply because they, being married women already and having enjoyed all these favourable devices on an earlier occasion, were not so vulnerable to evil influences. According to Ovid however the Lemuria was still an unsuitable time.<sup>159</sup>

On the day preceding the wedding the Roman girl would take leave of her former life.<sup>160</sup> This she did by dedicating a token of it to the household gods, who would look after it. According to Varro she dedicated her childish toys and clothes: suspendit Laribus manias, mollis pilas, reticula ac strophia.<sup>161</sup> In later times she might offer things like these to Venus<sup>162</sup> or Fortuna Virginalis<sup>163</sup> instead of the Lares. Arnobius mentions girls' togae as a gift. There is record too of supplications made once upon a time by girls to the Camellae Virgines, otherwise unknown to us.<sup>164</sup> Gagé believes that these customs may have been a relic of an ancient nubility ceremony for girls;<sup>165</sup> unfortunately there is no evidence to support this view. Before going to bed the girl took off her child's toga praetexta for the last time,<sup>166</sup> and also her hairband, and undid her hair, which had so far been arranged in the small girl's style.<sup>167</sup> She then clothed herself in a tunica recta,

a white tunic of old-fashioned weave, of the sort which had supposedly first been made by Tanaquil (or Gaia Caecilia), the ideal Roman matrona.<sup>168</sup> Round her hair she put a golden-coloured hairnet.<sup>169</sup> As the evidence for this ritual dressing of the bride on the night before the wedding is not plentiful, we may be forced to suppose that it fell out of use and ceded to the much better-known dressing on the actual wedding day.

In earlier times it was the custom to take the auspices at some point just before or during the wedding,<sup>170</sup> but on the whole it seems that this died out during the first century BC. However nuptiarum auspices continued to exist and to be present at weddings, probably as witnesses: we read such phrases as dote inter auspices consignata.<sup>171</sup> People looked for omens; for example, Caecilia sought omens in a shrine for her niece.<sup>172</sup> If the omens were bad they were an excuse for putting off the wedding;<sup>173</sup> if later in the marriage disaster occurred, then omens seen at the time of the wedding were interpreted as bad.<sup>174</sup>

On the morning of the wedding the bride was dressed and coiffed in a special way. The original reason for this was really perhaps to strengthen and protect her in a magical sense, even possibly to conceal her from evil spirits.<sup>175</sup> But no doubt to the classical Roman girl it was no more than a special dress for a special occasion and indeed a religious occasion. She wore a white tunica recta<sup>176</sup> and over it a white toga or, in later times, a matron's stola,<sup>177</sup> which was fastened, in earlier times at least, with a woollen girdle tied in a Herculean knot of symbolic significance.<sup>178</sup> She might adorn herself with jewellery.<sup>179</sup> Her hair was traditionally parted in the centre with a used iron spear,<sup>180</sup> for weapons and iron were alike magically potent and they were also supposed to scatter evil from whatever they were applied to. Then her hair was arranged in ringlets, three (the magic number) on each side,<sup>181</sup> and tied

up on top of her head in the ancient, high tutulus of the matron<sup>182</sup> with new woollen fillets sacred to Ceres.<sup>183</sup> A wreath of flowers, which in the old days the bride had gathered herself, was placed on her head,<sup>184</sup> and then over that the marriage veil or flammeum.<sup>185</sup> Unlike the white veil of the Vestals, this was flame-coloured; it hung down over her face, but as brides are not portrayed thus in art she must have put it back at some point in the ceremony to reveal her face, exactly as in the fashion of a modern bride.<sup>186</sup> The red colour was presumably thought to add the colour and power of fire to the most important part of her, and cannot have been a substitute for blood, as one modern scholar imagines.<sup>187</sup> No doubt it was for a similar reason that she might wear flame-coloured shoes on her feet, another part of her body that was believed in primitive times to contain the life-fluid.<sup>188</sup>

At this point we had better consider the different types of marriage. These 'types' used simply to be listed as that by confarreatio, by coemptio, by usus and that sine manu; in addition scholars used to think that only the first involved a religious ceremony. Marriage by confarreatio will be discussed below. It is true that it was a religious ceremony, but it is also true that the other forms of marriage were surrounded with more or fewer religious rites and customs. The full description of Roman weddings on which we have already embarked applies to all types of marriage. There is another distinction to be made between the different types of marriage and that is a legal one. In the forms of marriage by confarreatio, coemptio and usus the woman was released from the power of her father and came into the manus of her husband. It is obvious that in marrying sine manu, the bride did not become subject to her husband in a legal and civil sense, but remained in the (theoretical) power of her father or guardian. In the late republic and during the

empire this type of marriage, which allowed greater independence to the woman, became very common.

The legal ceremony of coemptio involved a sort of mutual purchase before five witnesses and a libripens.<sup>189</sup> It was still in use in the later empire. By usus a wife came into her husband's manus after she had lived with him for one year without any absence. Not much is heard about this, and it was certainly obsolete by Gaius' time.<sup>190</sup>

Confarreatio was indeed a special case. It was a public form of marriage in that priests of the state religion were involved in it, and they were incidentally also drawn from it. Lord Raglan sees in it the original Roman form of sacramental marriage which first belonged to the king alone and then to the aristocracy.<sup>191</sup> Certainly it was both ancient and patrician; presumably it is to be dated to the time when Jupiter was established by the Tarquins.<sup>192</sup> As Pliny says, in sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis uinculo erat.<sup>193</sup> The major priests, the Flamen Dialis, Martialis and Quirinalis and the Rex Sacrorum, were chosen from candidates whose parents were farreati,<sup>194</sup> and they had to marry by confarreatio themselves also.<sup>195</sup> This type of marriage almost disappeared during the first century BC; this meant that, for example, there was no Flamen Dialis for 75 years. But it was revived by Augustus and Tiberius and survived at least until the time of Commodus.<sup>196</sup>

The Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis and ten witnesses had to be present at the ceremony.<sup>197</sup> Ritual words were pronounced.<sup>198</sup> A solemn sacrifice was performed.<sup>199</sup> The bridal couple sat veiled on two chairs placed side by side and spread with the hide of a sheep which had been sacrificed.<sup>200</sup> They were united by sharing a sacrificial cake of far, the farreum libum.<sup>201</sup> This was an offering to Jupiter Farreus,<sup>202</sup> who was concerned only in this type of state wedding and not in weddings



in general. Marriage by confarreatio was for a long time indissoluble,<sup>203</sup> but as we have already seen, regulations became less strict during the empire.

Marriage was iustum between people having the right of conubium<sup>204</sup> who agreed verbally upon their intention at the time to marry and to establish a monogamous union for life in order to create a family.<sup>205</sup> In law this expression of intention was the most important feature of the wedding. Even the tablets containing the terms of the dowry and the marriage contract, although they became usual and were desirable as proof of marriage, were not necessary.<sup>206</sup> Other factors which helped to show that a marriage was taking place were the presence of plenty of guests to witness the proceedings and remember that they had taken place - in Apuleius a marriage in uilla sine testibus is disputed<sup>207</sup> -, the deductio of the bride in procession with torches to her husband's house,<sup>208</sup> and her reception by the man with fire and water: Lactantius remarks, sacramento ignis et aquae nuptiarum foedera sanciantur.<sup>209</sup> A religious ceremony was not necessary except in marriage by confarreatio,<sup>210</sup> and was not even necessary amongst Christians until very late in history. Nevertheless all the evidence indicates that weddings were normally religious affairs, as one would expect.<sup>211</sup> Even the naughty woman in Juvenal who married eight times in five years was described as wearing out her (sacred) flammeum by doing so.<sup>212</sup> We must suppose that the earliest Romans were pious enough and superstitious enough to create through the years all those wedding customs and rites which brides even of the most sceptical classical age no doubt followed, without perhaps entirely understanding their significance, but just from time-honoured convention and the feeling that it would not be a proper wedding without them.

The Latin words concerned with marriage, nubere, nuptiae and nupta, were generally connected by the ancients with nubes and obnubere, 'to cover', from the veiling of the bride.<sup>213</sup> This is usually accepted by modern scholars.<sup>214</sup>

The first part of the actual wedding usually took place in the bride's house,<sup>215</sup> and various preparations might be made there for the festive occasion. Everything would be cleaned and polished,<sup>216</sup> and the house lit with lamps,<sup>217</sup> scented<sup>218</sup> and perhaps decorated with hangings.<sup>219</sup> The door and the inside of the house were very often hung with greenery, ivy, myrtle or laurel, and garlands.<sup>220</sup>

Throughout the ceremonies various gods of marriage or of different moments of the marriage were thought to be present.<sup>221</sup> Indeed it seems likely that once upon a time there had existed hosts of special numina who lent their power to the various parts of the ceremony and who would be addressed in prayers. Ceres and Tellus were probably among the older marriage gods.<sup>222</sup> But by the classical period Juno seems to have risen to the most important position and to have ousted the earlier and lesser gods. Her ritual epithets may in fact have been taken from these gods. At this point in the wedding Juno Iuga and above all Juno Pronuba were most relevant;<sup>223</sup> the latter is portrayed in wedding scenes on sarcophagi.

The Christian Fathers, following Varro, mention with horror what must have been a very ancient rite to ensure the successful consummation of the marriage. The numen involved was an old Italian phallic god, Mutinus Titinus, whose name varies in late writers and is even divided into two.<sup>224</sup> The name is agreed to come from mutō, 'phallus', and Titinus could be an epithet from the Titii or the Titinii if he was in fact a family god of either of those clans, or it could perhaps be derived from a word similar in meaning to mutō.<sup>255</sup> According to the

rite the bride had to sit on the god's phallus and was thus ritually deflowered.<sup>226</sup> We have a single mention, in Paulus-Festus, of the worship of Mutinus Titinus at a shrine on the Velian in Rome:<sup>227</sup> women went there clad in the toga praetexta, that is, presumably before they got married, and it is possible that the ancient rite was performed then. The rite is not mentioned by classical authors and it must have died out by the time they wrote. Mutinus Titinus gave way to Priapus.

Other mysterious old gods were Pilumnus and Picumnus, who were said by Varro to be gods of marriage;<sup>228</sup> we shall discuss them later in the chapter. A favourite god of the classical and later periods, and one who appears frequently in poetry and art, was Hymen or Hymenaeus.<sup>229</sup> His name must have come from the Greek wedding cry *ὕμνῳ*, although of course legends were created around him. He was portrayed as a naked youth carrying a torch. Any god deemed suitable to the occasion or symbolic of happy marriage could be invoked, or represented in art. Venus, Concordia or Fortuna might be selected, or abstractions like Pudicitia, Gratia or Fides.<sup>230</sup> So the Roman couple could take their pick. Apart from all these, however, the ordinary household gods must have been present at the wedding too, but present in actual fact, as statuettes.<sup>231</sup>

Although a sacrifice was not legally essential, we have quite enough evidence to show that it was normal. Varro mentions the sacrifice of a pig by the Etruscans, early Latins and Italian Greeks.<sup>232</sup> In literature we read of the blazing hearth or altar on which offerings of incense and wine were made often by the bride or bridegroom.<sup>233</sup> The bridal couple prayed,<sup>234</sup> and in the earliest times may well have invoked a whole list of godlets to look with favour upon the proceedings. Richer people, as we see from representations in art, might sacrifice a bull or perhaps a



ram.<sup>235</sup> There is no evidence that the nuptial sacrifice was directed to Juno; this was natural, since she was a comparatively late marriage deity.<sup>236</sup>

The bride and bridegroom each had attendants,<sup>237</sup> the chief of whom was the pronuba.<sup>238</sup> She can often be seen on sarcophagi, sometimes in the shape of Juno or Venus, standing behind the couple with her hands on their shoulders.<sup>239</sup> Some solemn words must have been spoken by somebody - we do not know whom - to achieve the ritual union of the couple.<sup>240</sup> They certainly joined their right hands in token of this, as so often on sarcophagi,<sup>241</sup> although on some the dextrarum iunctio seems to be symbolic of conjugal fidelity in general rather than union at a specific moment during the wedding. We do not know whether the pronuba or perhaps one of the auspices took the lead at this point of the ceremonial or not.<sup>242</sup> Evidence shows that a marriage contract was quite usual in the empire, and in art the bridegroom is often to be seen holding the tabulae nuptiales or a volumen in his left hand.<sup>243</sup> The marriage contract contained the couple's intention to marry and often that the purpose of the marriage was to beget children, the statement of the dowry, and the couple's duties of care and good behaviour towards one another.<sup>244</sup> It was read out and signed by witnesses.<sup>245</sup> Then people wished them well.<sup>246</sup>

Any number of guests might have been invited,<sup>247</sup> and they would all partake of the wedding cena and the drink.<sup>248</sup> (If the wedding were taking place in rather shady circumstances, there might be few or even no guests at all.<sup>249</sup>) The music of the tibia was heard, and occasionally there was dancing also.<sup>250</sup> People sang wedding hymns.<sup>251</sup> The music may have been partly or completely outside the house, and it evidently accompanied the wedding procession later on.<sup>252</sup>

In the evening the second part of the wedding ceremony took place.<sup>253</sup>



The bride was formally conducted to the house of the bridegroom with crowds of people accompanying her in procession.<sup>254</sup> This was such a basic feature of the wedding, and indication that it had occurred, that a woman could marry an absent man by proxy or letter, provided she went to his house!<sup>255</sup> On the other hand it was impossible for the woman to get married if she were not present there to be taken to the man's house. The bridegroom had probably gone on before her to his house.<sup>256</sup> The bride was led away from her parents reluctantly,<sup>257</sup> surely not in memory of some primitive custom of bride capture, which, in spite of the story of the rape of the Sabine women, is not now believed ever to have been normal or acceptable in early societies; but rather because she did not wish to abandon her old household gods, or simply out of natural regret. The pronuba and her other attendants were near her. Three boys of perfect religious integrity accompanied her;<sup>258</sup> one of them walked in front of her holding a special lucky torch of whitethorn, this wood being a symbol of fertility because of its plentiful fruit;<sup>259</sup> the torch was sometimes beribboned with sacred uittae as well. On sarcophagi Hymenaeus fulfils the role of the three boys.<sup>260</sup> When the procession arrived at the bridegroom's house, the bride's friends each tried to snatch the lucky torch for himself or herself, for it brought good luck to the person who kept it but bad luck to the bride if she retained it.<sup>261</sup> Other torches, up to the magic number five,<sup>262</sup> lit the bridal procession, indeed so much so that the torch was a symbol of marriage<sup>263</sup> (as of funerals, with which torch it is often contrasted). Their light and fire were thought to dispel evil in magic fashion,<sup>264</sup> and if they burned brightly it was a good omen (or if poorly it was a bad omen),<sup>265</sup> and they gave light of course too. The bride was thus protected on her way by her special clothes, the other people, the noise and music, and the

torches. In addition she may have imagined herself to be guarded by a godlet, or function of Juno, called Domiduca or Domiducus, who is referred to by a number of late writers.<sup>266</sup>

Music accompanied the procession. The guests came too, making a lot of noise,<sup>267</sup> singing, making rude jokes and chanting Fescennine verses, Fescennina iocatio, obscenis uerbis.<sup>268</sup> The children seem to have had a major share in this ribaldry.<sup>269</sup> Of course it was all done to frighten away evil spirits and at the same time help on the fertility of the bridal couple. People also shouted the traditional wedding-cry 'Talassio', a mysterious word whose meaning the classical Romans no longer knew. An aetiological myth had been invented according to which Talassius was a noble youth for whom his friends seized a beautiful Sabine girl and whose marriage to her turned out happy.<sup>270</sup> Other writers simply regard him as a god of marriage or of the wedding hymn.<sup>271</sup> But Varro and Juba say that the word meant 'wool-basket'.<sup>272</sup> At first sight this seems rather odd, but there are in fact various obscure references to wool and spinning in Roman weddings and these may all reflect some ancient customs which were akin to each other. For example the bride sometimes processed to her husband's house holding a distaff and spindle with wool on it, colu et lana.<sup>273</sup> Then again Varro mentions a cumerum, a vessel whose contents were unknown to outsiders;<sup>274</sup> but it is conceivable that they might have had something to do with spinning. Wool was often regarded as sacred in Roman religion, for it was a very old and simple human commodity.<sup>275</sup> Likewise implements for spinning were very ancient and honourable. According to Pliny, on some Italian farms it was thought bad for the crops if a woman walked over the fields with an exposed spindle.<sup>276</sup> So it seems that distaff and spindle might be powerful for good or evil. Another point is that spinning recalled

Tanaquil. Instruments which were said to be the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil were preserved in the temple of Sancus.<sup>277</sup> Tanaquil herself, an Etruscan diviner and foreteller of destiny, was made by Roman tradition into a famous wool-spinner, who fashioned the toga undulata worn by Servius Tullius and the first tunica recta,<sup>278</sup> and was identified with Gaia Caecilia.<sup>279</sup> Gagé believes that the ancient Etruscan divining mechanisms that were associated with Tanaquil were later mistakenly interpreted as spindles, and that in this way Tanaquil became a wool-spinner.<sup>280</sup> However these problems concerning Tanaquil do not invalidate the probability that things to do with spinning had a place in Roman weddings. It was an honour for a wife to be called a lanifica.<sup>281</sup> So Varro may very well have been correct in connecting Talassio with ταλασσία, 'wool-spinning', at least insofar as the meaning goes.

When the bridal procession finally reached the bridegroom's house, and the children had got their lucky walnuts<sup>282</sup> and a guest the lucky torch, the bride had to take care that she made due offering to the door of her new home, that she entered it auspiciously, and that she left all evil influences outside. So according to early custom she smeared wolf's fat on the doorposts,<sup>283</sup> or in classical times pig's fat,<sup>284</sup> and fixed woollen uittae on them.<sup>285</sup> Here we have sacred and prophylactic wool once again. Then she had to enter the house without knocking against or stepping on the threshold, which would have harmed its numen and been very inauspicious.<sup>286</sup> So either she stepped very carefully over it, or some of her attendants, though not her husband, lifted her over it.<sup>287</sup> Plutarch's suggestion that this had to be done because the bride had to be forced inside is unlikely.<sup>288</sup> Then the bridegroom welcomed her with fire and water.<sup>289</sup>

It is now necessary to discuss the problem of the formula, Vbi tu



Gaius, ego Gaia, which the bride is said to have pronounced on entering the house.<sup>290</sup> Rose explains by taking Gaius as an old gens name and paraphrasing, 'I belong to the same clan as you',<sup>291</sup> which was true in a sense of course, although she retained her own family name. Ancient authors thought the name was meant to recall Gaia Caecilia (or Tanaquil) as a good omen.<sup>292</sup> But we know that Gaius or Gaia was the name used for a legal persona, so that in fact the formula may belong to the legal transference of the woman into her husband's manus by the ceremony of coemptio. Indeed a remark of Cicero certainly suggests this: omnis mulieres quae coemptionem facerent 'Gaias' uocari.<sup>293</sup> If this is the case, then it was not part of every ordinary marriage, but only of marriage by coemptio.

Varro refers to another otherwise unknown custom: the bride brought three asses to the house. One, which she had in her hand, she gave to her husband, tamquam emendi causa marito dare.<sup>294</sup> This could have been a token of the dowry which would be paid later.<sup>295</sup> Or it could well have been part of the transaction of coemptio.<sup>296</sup> In any case this practice cannot have been older than the invention of coinage, so that it did not belong to the earliest phase of Roman religion, and on the other hand it seems to have fallen out of use some time in the republic, only to be mentioned as a relic. Of the other two asses, one, which the bride had in her shoe, she laid on the hearth, and the other, in a purse, she gave to the Lares at the compitum.<sup>297</sup> These would seem simply to be offerings by which the girl aimed to gain acceptance by her new gods.

As the bride stepped into the bridegroom's house she came face to face with the lectus genialis, which had been placed opposite the entrance and in full view.<sup>298</sup> She was released by her boy attendants<sup>299</sup> and led away into the bridal chamber. This might have been decorated with hangings



or garlands to enhance its special sacredness.<sup>300</sup> Here her pronuba or pronubae undressed her ready for her bridegroom.<sup>301</sup> A whole host of di certi, who will be mentioned later in this chapter, might have been believed to be present, or might have been called upon to favour the consummation of the marriage. Perhaps the most relevant at this point would be Juno Cinxia,<sup>302</sup> the numen involved in the untying of the Herculean knot and the bride's girdle:<sup>303</sup> she made the action ritually successful.

Consummation was not necessary for the validity of the marriage and was occasionally delayed, especially if the bride were very young. Octavian, for example, divorced Antony's stepdaughter Claudia while she was still a virgin.<sup>304</sup> On the other hand we know of an epitaph set up by a husband to a 27-year-old virgin!<sup>305</sup>

The next day the young wife began her role as mistress of the house and its sacra, a role which had a certain sacredness to it.<sup>306</sup> We should expect her to have made a formal first offering to the household gods of her husband, thus accepting them as her own, but the only direct evidence for this is in Macrobius.<sup>307</sup> She might also receive a wedding present from her husband,<sup>308</sup> to underline the fact that she was a new matrona. Festus mentions nupta uerba, words which girls were not allowed to use, but which were reserved for married women.<sup>309</sup> Whether these were obscene in nature, or very sacred, or a mingling of both, we have no way of knowing.

Marriage was entered upon with the intention of maintaining it for life. Naturally however it could be terminated in a social and civic sense by divorce; for the woman at least it could not be terminated in a religious way. The process of divorce and the reasons for it have already been briefly considered in the previous chapter. Marriage could

of course also come to an end because of the death of one partner. A widow had a social and religious duty to mourn her husband for ten months,<sup>310</sup> which was the period of the old Roman year, and incidentally also the length (in lunar months at least) of any possible pregnancy. In this way the dead man acquired his due attentions, and the parentage of any posthumous child was clear. Remarriage within a shorter space of time was shocking;<sup>311</sup> and according to ancient law if the widow remarried within this forbidden period she had to sacrifice a pregnant cow to Tellus.<sup>312</sup>

The other great happening in the life of a woman, apart from her marriage, was of course the birth of a child. Pregnancy and childbirth, like weddings, were surrounded with superstition, magic, divine numina and religious rites.

Married women who were infertile might resort to the use of herbs and spells.<sup>313</sup> Or they might seek to help themselves by going out into the streets of Rome during the festival of the Lupercalia on 15 February and holding out their hands to be hit by the goatskin thongs which the Luperci wielded as they ran by.<sup>314</sup> The fact that they were hit on the hand is probably significant, as the hand could be associated with generative power.<sup>315</sup> In the classical period this evidently very ancient festival was no longer understood, nor did people know to which god it was directed: it seems most likely that it was just a ritual valid in itself, without any precise deity being thought to be present.<sup>316</sup> Anyway it seems clear that the ancient Palatine urbs, and incidentally any human beings who got in the way, were lustrated.<sup>317</sup> Where women were concerned this was believed to give fertility or easy delivery in childbirth.<sup>318</sup> The festival was revived by Augustus and lasted until AD 494.

Unwifely women and unmarried women might take steps to avoid pregnancy

and childbirth by using contraceptives and abortifacients that were physical and magic mingled together.<sup>319</sup> Upper-class women at least used contraceptives in the classical age.<sup>320</sup> Wine was probably thought to be unfavourable to conception, amongst other things, as has already been noted.<sup>321</sup>

A number of gods or minor di certi may have been thought of, or had originally been thought of in the earliest period, as making manifest their power in conception. In a general way such gods as Juno Pronuba<sup>322</sup> and Iugatinus<sup>323</sup> might be said to be present. On the whole these specialised gods were involved in the fertility of all living things, such as, where men were concerned, Liber,<sup>324</sup> Saturn, who confert ... semen,<sup>325</sup> or, in the legend of the birth of Servius Tullius, the Di Conserentes;<sup>326</sup> and, from the female point of view, Libera,<sup>327</sup> Ceres,<sup>328</sup> Venus,<sup>329</sup> Juno,<sup>330</sup> Luna<sup>331</sup> or Virginensis.<sup>332</sup> The evidence for these is almost entirely late: in other words no attention was paid to them in the classical period, and knowledge of them derived from antiquarian writers like Varro. Janus, the god of beginnings, who aditum aperit recipiendo semini,<sup>333</sup> the phallic Priapus,<sup>334</sup> and other minor powers, which were probably really all of agricultural significance but were interpreted in this connection in an obscene sense, were pressed into service by shocked Christian writers.<sup>335</sup> It is obvious that gods such as these did not receive any cult in the household: they were merely the numina at work in intercourse, conception and sterility.

Once she was pregnant the woman had to take great care that nothing adverse happened to her. To the superstitious woman there was a great number of peculiar things which might magically cause her to miscarry, especially if she stepped over them and thus withdrew bad mana from them. Pliny enumerates these primitive dangers.<sup>336</sup> It is possible



that Juno Historia got her name from the fact that pregnant women asked her lots of questions about the course of childbirth;<sup>337</sup> but Renard, comparing the Boeotian goddess Historis, interprets her as a helper in childbirth.<sup>338</sup> Whichever she was, she was evidently a deity relevant to childbirth. Several di certi were supposed to be involved in the development of the unborn child: Fluonia retained the lining of the womb and thus nourished the foetus;<sup>339</sup> Alemona also nourished it;<sup>340</sup> Ossipago developed the bones;<sup>341</sup> even Apollo was supposed to be concerned with the womb.<sup>342</sup> Once again these were powers manifest, and were not worshipped so far as we know.

There were a number of goddesses of childbirth to whom women could appeal.<sup>343</sup> We have traces of what were probably very ancient local divinities, but by the classical period Juno Lucina was by far the most important.<sup>344</sup> Rugis uterum Lucina notauit, in the words of Ovid.<sup>345</sup> The derivation of the name Lucina was and still is disputed: either it comes from lux and means 'the one who brings (the child) into the light' or 'the one who gives light';<sup>346</sup> or it comes from lucus, the sacred grove on the Esquiline at Rome where Lucina's temple was built later.<sup>347</sup> This alternative is perhaps to be preferred. The temple on the Esquiline was dedicated on 1 March 375 BC and rededicated in 41 BC,<sup>348</sup> and the festival of the Matronalia on that day took place in her honour. We have numerous references in classical literature to childbearing women, mothers, and indeed interested men, praying to Lucina, offering incense to her<sup>349</sup> and dedicating inscriptions to her.<sup>350</sup> Pregnant women had to take the magic precaution of loosening their hair and undoing all knots when they prayed to her on 1 March.<sup>351</sup>

Some of the older goddesses of childbirth appear to have had prophetic powers in addition to their ability to lighten or hinder the



process of childbirth. They prophesied on the course of delivery presumably and on the state of the new-born infant, and also had a store of spells which would help. Carmentis was one of these. She was evidently very old, since she had a flamen.<sup>352</sup> She had a shrine and altar at the Porta Carmentalis.<sup>353</sup> For some reason she had two festivals, on 11 and on 15 January:<sup>354</sup> perhaps there had once been two Carmentes or at least two communities with two separate festivals.<sup>355</sup> She is usually treated as a nymph and the mother of Evander by ancient writers,<sup>356</sup> who also attribute the power of prophecy to her - for prophetic inspiration could be thought to be drunk in water<sup>357</sup> - and derive her name from carmen.<sup>358</sup> But Varro interprets her as a birth goddess, and it does seem reasonable to suppose that she was a goddess who helped women in childbirth with her spells, carmina.<sup>359</sup> The tradition about her as a prophetic nymph is far removed from this however. Perhaps two goddesses were combined.<sup>360</sup> Other minor spirits were associated with, or were said to be, Carmentis or the Carmentes, those quae fata nascentibus canunt et uocantur Carmentes:<sup>361</sup> even their names were doubtful, Porrima, Postuerta, Prorsa, Anteuorta. Varro thought that two of them, Postuerta and Prorsa, referred to the position of the baby at birth;<sup>362</sup> Ovid interpreted Porrima and Postuerta as having prophetic knowledge of the past (?) and the future.<sup>363</sup> Tels-de Jong suggests that they were all indigitamenta to do with the position of the baby, godlets who then became Carmentes, singing birth spells and later fates.<sup>364</sup> No-one was certain in the past, nor can we be certain now, about them. All that we can say is that here again we have the two strands of birth and prophecy.

Egeria was another, similarly enigmatic, divinity. She had a shrine at the Porta Capena.<sup>365</sup> She was connected with Numa, and, as a prophetic water nymph, with Aricia and the shrine of Diana there.<sup>366</sup> She also seems

to have been a birth goddess, for according to Paulus-Festus, Egeriae nymphae sacrificabant praegnantes, quod eam putabant facile conceptum aluo egerere.<sup>367</sup>

Arician Diana was certainly a goddess of the moon, the life of women and birth, and she received relevant dedications from women.<sup>368</sup> On 13 August women went to her shrine with torches.<sup>369</sup> That is all we know of her.

Cicero mentions an obscure Natio who had a cult at Ardea.<sup>370</sup> Another relevant divinity was Genita Mana, evidently the 'good birth-goddess', who received a catulus or young animal as sacrifice.<sup>371</sup> In addition the mysterious Nixi, whose signa were on the Capitol, were supposed to give aid in childbirth too.<sup>372</sup> Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste was worshipped as a goddess of childbirth as well as of the general care of people and their children; Cicero describes her as being shown in the act of suckling the baby Jupiter and Juno.<sup>373</sup> Numeries seems to have been yet another old and forgotten birth goddess.<sup>374</sup> And Christian writers perhaps misinterpreted Diespiter as a god of birth.<sup>375</sup> Juno Opigena apparently brought aid in childbirth as in war.<sup>376</sup> It seems very likely that Parca was derived from parere and was in fact a birth goddess, who was influenced by the Greek Μοῖραι to develop into the familiar trio of prophetic fates.<sup>377</sup> (One may compare a similar development in the case of Fatum and the three Fata.<sup>378</sup>) Tertullian mentions an otherwise unknown Partula who may fit in here.<sup>379</sup> Early inscriptions on three cippi give us the names Neuna Fata, Neuna and Parca Maurtia. These become in Varro Nona, Decima and Parca,<sup>380</sup> the first two apparently named from the usual months of delivery, although another, modern suggestion is that Nona/Neuna referred possibly to the ninth day rather than the ninth month.<sup>381</sup> In Caesellius Vindex they appear as Nona, Decima and Morta, the last presumably being the same as the Maurtia of

the inscription.<sup>382</sup> Some have attempted to make her Moera or a goddess to do with Mars, but this is unacceptable philologically and Mars is scarcely relevant.<sup>383</sup> Anyway Morta would have to be the power involved in stillbirth.<sup>384</sup>

So the woman who was about to have a baby could choose any of a great number of favourable divinities to invoke and call upon for aid. During the actual delivery the more superstitious people avoided various actions that might magically hinder things, such as clasping their hands or crossing their legs,<sup>385</sup> the knee and the hand being significant here because of their association with generation.<sup>386</sup> As a positive aid they might give the woman a key or undo all knots,<sup>387</sup> or her husband might loosen a belt from around her. These tricks were supposed to work by sympathetic magic.

The infant is born. And in Tertullian and Augustine we find two gods interpreted as endowing it with life and sensation at that moment, namely Vitumnus and Sentinus,<sup>388</sup> of whom nothing else is known. Candles might be lit to help on the new life or to scare away evil spirits; a goddess Candelifera is supposed by Tertullian to be present.<sup>389</sup> The infant was delivered on to the ground or else was laid on the ground as soon as it was born,<sup>390</sup> and thus was strengthened by contact with mother earth, in this case the goddess Ops, who opem ferat nascentibus excipiando eos sinu terrae.<sup>391</sup> The infant opened its mouth and uttered its first cry; a divine Vaticanus was thought to be the spirit involved in this,<sup>392</sup> although he may really have been a Roman local god. If the child were alive, the midwife made it stand up to see if it was normal.<sup>393</sup> The gods Pilumnus and Picumnus were somehow concerned in this, since in Varro's time a lectus used to be set up for them in the atrium.<sup>393</sup> Pilumnus has usually been connected with pilum, a 'pestle', and with



far pinsere,<sup>394</sup> and also - but this is less likely - with pilum, 'javelin', and pellere.<sup>395</sup> Picumnus was variously connected with the picus Martius or pica or with fertilising the fields;<sup>396</sup> he may however simply be a rhyming twin. Otherwise Pilumnus and Picus are treated as Latian ancestors of Faunus, Turnus and Latinus.<sup>397</sup> On the whole it seems that they were some sort of agricultural deities.

The days following childbirth were of course a dangerous time for the mother and baby, both medically and in superstition. We have record of what was evidently a country rite to protect them from hostile spirits outside the house. Three men went round the house hitting the thresholds with axe and pestle, and sweeping them, to keep away the uncivilised god from the woods, Silvanus:<sup>398</sup> the noise, the use of everyday tools and the actions were supposed to frighten evil spirits.<sup>399</sup> Varro mentions three guardian godlets as being involved in this rite, Pilumnus, Deverra and Intercidona.<sup>400</sup> However that may be for remote places in Italy in archaic times, the classical mother no doubt trusted mainly in Lucina. The family sometimes set up a lectus or a mensa in gratitude to her.<sup>401</sup> There would of course be happy celebrations to acclaim the baby's birth.<sup>402</sup>

It was considered virtuous for a woman to feed her own child;<sup>403</sup> and there were complaints that some mothers had their babies suckled by foster-mothers.<sup>404</sup> There existed magic concoctions for improving the woman's supply of milk.<sup>405</sup> And human milk might in itself be regarded as an efficacious remedy for certain ills.<sup>406</sup> The goddess Rumina was relevant here: her name was said to derive from ruma,<sup>407</sup> and indeed she received offerings of milk.<sup>408</sup> She was connected with the Ficus Ruminalis in the Forum,<sup>409</sup> which in turn was connected with Romulus and Remus and the ruma of the wolf<sup>410</sup> or with a place called Rumen.<sup>411</sup> If she was simply the goddess of the place where the fig-tree grew,<sup>412</sup> it is quite



reasonable that she should become the goddess of its sap and thus of something similar, milk.

Thus the woman was the most important person in two great events of family life by which the family was irreparably altered, marriage and the birth of a child. While she was not responsible for other major changes in the household, the matrona would normally, we imagine, be consulted, and would have some share in them. She expected to take part in the betrothal and wedding arrangements for her children, and also on occasion for more distant relatives, such as nieces.<sup>413</sup> Like Scipio's wife she might be justifiably indignant at not being consulted about a daughter's betrothal.<sup>414</sup> Things could go even further: for example Terentia and Tullia arranged Tullia's betrothal to Dolabella without the consent of Cicero, their husband and father.<sup>415</sup> If the woman's husband were absent or dead, she naturally tended to take the initiative rather more than was usual.<sup>416</sup> The mother had no official role at her children's weddings, but it is obvious that she shared in them. We read in several places of the bride's being torn away from her mother's lap<sup>417</sup> (to go away to the bridegroom's house). In Seneca a bridegroom's mother decorates the wedding torch with a uitta;<sup>418</sup> in Cicero a bride's mother actually arrays the lectus genialis for the bridal couple.<sup>419</sup> Wives also attended weddings outside the close family.<sup>420</sup>

The mother would naturally take an interest in the coming-of-age ceremony of her son.<sup>421</sup> If the lad's father were dead, she might even make all the arrangements herself.<sup>422</sup>

Lastly the matrona took part in the funeral of any member of the household who had died.<sup>423</sup> As has already been mentioned above, she had to mourn her dead husband for ten months. Extreme mourning might involve in some cases what was almost a cult of the dead man.<sup>424</sup> It was the

custom when mourning for the matrona to put aside the normal insignia of her status, her uitta, and any purple clothes and gold ornaments she might have,<sup>425</sup> exchanging them for the customary dark clothing of sorrow;<sup>426</sup> she also loosened her hair, and this disarray was the typical sign of mourning by women.<sup>427</sup> So much is made of the lamentations of women at funerals<sup>428</sup> that we are forced to conclude that this was almost a special function of their sex. To show their grief (and that of everyone else, presumably) they also scratched their cheeks,<sup>429</sup> beat their breasts<sup>430</sup> and even put ashes on their heads.<sup>431</sup> In default of anyone else women kissed the dying person to catch his soul,<sup>432</sup> and in general performed the last rites for him.<sup>433</sup>

Among the private religious festivals of the Roman year there was only one where women played the main part. This was the Matronalia, which took place on 1 March.<sup>434</sup> It was connected with the services rendered by the Sabine women,<sup>435</sup> and also, because of the date, with Mars.<sup>436</sup> The Kalends of March was the dedication day of the temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline,<sup>437</sup> and indeed Ovid recounts how matronae brought flowers to Lucina in her temple and prayed to her every year on that day.<sup>438</sup> At home it seems probable that women gave offerings to the household gods.<sup>439</sup> They received gifts, usually munuscula, from their husbands, families and friends.<sup>440</sup> Those men who had no families of their own might have felt excluded, but we find them giving presents to their mistresses and women friends.<sup>441</sup> In later times at least the women also entertained their slaves, just as their husbands did at the Saturnalia.<sup>442</sup> Various doubtful reasons for this practice are hazarded by our sources, but it is possible that it derived merely from the Saturnalia. There are traces also of late, riotous, transvestite customs at this festival, as on the Kalends of January.<sup>443</sup>

It is possible that at Rome the housemistresses may have performed another religious rite on this same day, the Kalends of March. We know that on this day, the first of the old Roman year, the Vestal Virgins extinguished the sacred fire of the state and then ritually relit it. The evidence for a similar rite in the private house, with fire taken from the Vestal fire, is late and not quite clear: eius die prima de aris Vestalibus ignes accenderent.<sup>444</sup> While it is a reasonable supposition that such a rite should have existed, we should certainly expect to find more reference to it.

There is little mention of the participation of women in those great times of winter merrymaking which the men enjoyed. We read that women were included in the great feast that Domitian provided for everyone at the Saturnalia;<sup>445</sup> also that Marcus Aurelius allowed his wife and daughter to celebrate the Sigillaricia,<sup>446</sup> and that Martial's woman-friend did not give him an accustomed present.<sup>447</sup> But this is scant evidence. Horace tells of the woman sharing in a country harvest festival, when a pig was offered to Tellus, milk to Silvanus, and flowers and wine to the Genius.<sup>448</sup> We must presume that she shared in the family observation of the Parentalia and in the family feast of Cara Cognatio. And although the literary sources are largely silent on the subject, the matrona as a vital part of the family must have participated in the sacra of the family.

Not much is said in ancient literature of the woman's place in the ordinary, everyday religion of the household. However it both was, and is still, well-known that women as a sex are more religious than men, and that Roman women in particular valued dearly the sacred utensils and the sacra of the family they had entered as brides. As Cicero so well describes it, the loss of sacred utensils magnum et acerbum dolorem



commouent, mulierculis praesertim, cum eripiuntur e manibus ea quibus ad res diuinas uti consuerunt, quae a suis acceperunt, quae in familia semper fuerunt,<sup>449</sup> and that too, the family they had not been born into. However a law of Romulus did state definitely that confarreatae were to share in all the husband's possessions and sacra.<sup>450</sup> In his essay, 'The silent women of Rome', Finley sees religion as an outlet for the repressed sex.<sup>451</sup> And in a general way, although we have little fact to go on, we must presume that many Roman women were active in ordinary domestic cult at any rate. The matrona was housemistress and mistress of the sacra.<sup>452</sup> Again it must be remembered that she was nevertheless mistress of her husband's household gods and not others of her own choosing.<sup>453</sup> If indeed her husband died, the sacra were said to belong to her as a widow.<sup>454</sup>

The male head of the household acted as priest at major domestic religious ceremonies; in his absence, or when he was uninterested, the wife would naturally come into her own in the everyday religion of the family at least. The wife worshipped the Lares, on the Kalends perhaps, or poured a libation after a sacrifice.<sup>455</sup> A mother is described as praying to a domestic statue of Fortuna, another to a statue of Apollo.<sup>456</sup> Ocresia in the story of the birth of Servius Tullius made the meal-time offering to the household gods at the hearth.<sup>457</sup> The fact that the Flaminica helped the Flamen in his religious duties<sup>458</sup> may suggest that the ordinary Roman wife was also her husband's assistant on important occasions. It is possible that she had, or had originally had, a sacred duty to keep the hearthfire of the household going, not indeed for material reasons mainly, but rather for religious and ritual reasons.<sup>459</sup> We know that women used, as well as valued, the sacred utensils of the family, such as patella, patera and turibulum,<sup>460</sup> and that they sacrificed with their heads covered, according to Roman practice.<sup>461</sup> In Persius a woman



wears white to make a more formal prayer.<sup>462</sup> If in the earliest times cooking and the preparation of food were something of a sacred act, then the wife's concern in this would have been part of her religious function. So much then for the discreet and supportive, but very real, role of the matrona in the religious life of the family, as far as it can be assessed from our not very plentiful sources.

Unmarried women living alone and without any man to take the initiative had per force to be more active themselves. In literature Dido and Medea pray and make sacrifice;<sup>463</sup> in history the widow of Scipio Africanus the Elder freed a slave girl and gave her in marriage to her freedman;<sup>464</sup> in inscriptions we find Vestal Virgins as patronae,<sup>465</sup> with all the responsibility that title implies. Once more we are hampered by lack of evidence.

In the sphere of personal piety women had almost as much freedom to express themselves in religious ways as their husbands. The only real difference in their capability seems to have been that they did not adopt personal Di Penates, but were supposed to content themselves with the traditional gods of the family. They did of course have ample opportunity, as we have already seen, to pay their respects to, and gain the help and favour of, any of the goddesses outside the home who were closely concerned with female life and interests. Women celebrated their birthdays, making offerings to their personal Juno, and receiving presents, while husbands, even while far away, relatives, friends and lovers shared in the celebrations.<sup>466</sup> Unfortunately we have once again much less evidence for women than for men on this point as on others.

Inscriptional evidence is more eloquent. Women often set up inscriptions, dedications to gods,<sup>467</sup> or epitaphs for husbands or children,<sup>468</sup> other relatives or friends,<sup>469</sup> or inscriptions on their own funerary

monuments.<sup>470</sup> They often shared with others, usually their husbands, in having inscriptions made.<sup>471</sup> In the same way inscriptions were put up in their honour by husbands and parents,<sup>472</sup> other relatives,<sup>473</sup> friends, freedmen and slaves.<sup>474</sup> Unmarried women, such as freedwoman concubines or Vestal Virgins, enjoyed the same honour.<sup>475</sup>

Women were valued by the very fact that inscriptions were set up for them in this way. They were valued for various wifely virtues, which were also very often enumerated on their tombstones, virtues which had a certain religious aura about them. The ideal Roman wife was of course fertile: often the number of children she had borne and of those still surviving at the time of her death was recorded on her tombstone.<sup>476</sup> She was also supposed to be faithful, chaste, pious, stay-at-home, dutiful, industrious and so on, everything wifely.<sup>477</sup> In return for her devotion to her home and everything it meant, she earned terms of praise when she died, fida, domestica, pudica, casta, domiseda.<sup>478</sup> St. Augustine even mentions special minor divinities that he supposed were the caretakers of domestic wifely virtue of this sort, namely Domitius and Manturna (who were really perhaps gens or local gods).<sup>479</sup> It is more interesting that the good wife was praised for wool-working, for being lanifica and following the perfect example of Gaia Caecilia or Lucretia.<sup>480</sup> We remember how Augustus made his daughter and granddaughters pursue woolwork at home.<sup>481</sup> Even a concubine earns praise for this in her epitaph.<sup>482</sup>

The quality which was strongest in religious power, but which, in primitive fashion, had in fact little connection with the woman's conscious efforts to attain virtue, was to be uniuira. The happy wife of a single husband would be so designated in her epitaph, so that posterity could marvel and admire.<sup>483</sup> As we have already seen, the uniuira enjoyed

greater religious opportunities than lesser women. In the domestic sphere only women of this high religious status could act as pronuba at a wedding.<sup>484</sup> And with this supreme quality of the Roman wife we come to the end of our survey of the personal aspect of the religious activity of the Roman woman.

In conclusion it is apparent that, although the Roman woman did not have the technical power and authority of the man in his position at the head of the family, she was extremely important within the family, and that this was owing to the accident of her sex. Whereas her sexuality was mysterious and to be feared in a primitive society, by the historical age she was valued because she produced children for the state and the family. Religious power was felt to reside in the chastity of certain priestesses as well as in the sexuality of the normal married woman. She possessed her personal Juno and was in a general way throughout her life in the care of the great goddess Juno. The married woman enjoyed a better social and religious status than the unmarried, and among matronae those who were uniuirae had supreme status. In the world outside the home these two groups of women were able to perform religious duties on behalf of the whole state, they were eligible for priesthoods, and they had exclusive right to a number of womanly cults. While the woman had a small and probably mainly advisory function with regard to the events that changed the course of family life and altered its structure, she was of course by far the most important participant in her wedding, when she herself was brought into the family for the first time, and in the carrying and bearing of her children, who increased the family. Both these events were surrounded by magic and religious rites to protect her and bring about a successful outcome, and both were filled with a multitude of religious numina; in both the woman could invoke the aid of numerous

relevant goddesses. As a member of the family the woman must have had some share in its recurrent religious festivals; the only one that was hers was the Matronalia. She probably had a greater function in the normal cult of everyday life, where the presence of the paterfamilias as high priest was not necessary. The unmarried woman living in a house without a paterfamilias must have been more active still. The Roman woman had considerable freedom to express herself in the sphere of personal religion: she celebrated her birthday, dedicated inscriptions to the gods and other people, and enjoyed an honourable epitaph herself. So the Roman woman was of great importance in the religious life of the family, as an upholder of ordinary cult, but mainly in those areas that were felt to pertain to her particularly, in sex, the birth and the rearing of children.



It would be unreasonable to imagine that small children should have played a large part in the religious life, or indeed in any of the activities, of the Roman family. Their youth obviously precluded this. Legally they were in patria potestate and subject to their father or grandfather. And, as we saw in Chapter Five,<sup>1</sup> they owed the very fact that they were permitted to exist at all to their father's acknowledgement of them at birth.

Nevertheless to the Romans children did have some religious validity. This seems to have stemmed largely from the fact that they, being below the age of puberty, and lacking sexuality, were completely chaste and pure - a somewhat different quality perhaps from the self-imposed chastity of adults. So they formed a contrast to men and women, who were religiously potent (but infinitely more potent than children) because of their life-power and sexuality.

The Roman woman belonged to the highest religious stratum of society and was in herself most religiously effective if she was in the fortunate state of both being married and being endowed with a husband who was living. In exactly the same way those Roman children who had both parents living were religiously the best and the most complete. These patrimi et matrimi, as they were called,<sup>2</sup> were the most capable of fulfilling religious functions, both in private life and in the public life of the state, as will become clear below. It is a fact of great interest that religious effectiveness among the Romans should have resided in this quality that pertained to the uniuira and the patrimus et matrimus alike. They were somehow complete and whole, integri. It may have been felt, in early society at least, that women and children in this happy position

were perfectly unpolluted by the death of those close to them and that for this reason they were whole and pure. Or else they may have been regarded as complete simply in a social and legal sense, in that they were members of a complete and perfect family unit. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that patrimi et matrimi formed a sort of superior religious group, particularly when their religious integrity was accompanied by good birth.

If the personal Genius and Juno were the divine life-principle of adult humankind which was manifested in sexual power and the ability to bear children, then it is clear that children themselves can hardly have been in possession of them. At best the Genius must have been believed to lie dormant in childhood, only to become active at puberty. But children obviously had birthdays and celebrated them too. So while their parents made offerings to their personal Genius and Juno on their birthdays, to whom did children direct their offerings and prayers on their special days? We do not know. Nor are we much helped by the fact that there is extant an inscription set up by a slave in honour of the Genius of his master, the Juno of his master's wife, the Genius of the son and the Juno of the daughter, the ages of the children being unspecified.<sup>3</sup>

Roman men could regard themselves as being in the care of any or all of the great gods of the state; Roman women were looked after by the great goddess Juno as well as by other womanly goddesses at the various important stages of their lives. The only great god who might be interpreted as having some concern for the progress of the Roman child was Minerva, since besides being a city goddess who had associations with Mars she became the patron of all crafts and craftsmen and also of children learning.<sup>4</sup> The dedication day of her temple on the Aventine was 19 March and it was called the Quinquatrus, the fifth day after the

Ides.<sup>5</sup> The holiday was extended to last for five days. The schools were on holiday, and children prayed to Minerva.<sup>6</sup> The goddess was naturally supposed to help girls learn to spin: Pallade placata lanam mollire puellae // discant et plenas exonerare colos.<sup>7</sup> As we saw in the previous chapter, spinning was an accomplishment of ancient glory and worth, and perhaps of ritual significance, for the Roman woman.

Children formed a special category of Roman society, and like other such classes (magistrates, priests, matronae, for example) they were entitled to wear special clothing as an indication of this. The toga praetexta was worn by priests and magistrates as well as by children, quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus et venerabilem, as Quintilian puts it.<sup>8</sup> In the view of Rose the purple border was given to all three classes because of their sacred duties;<sup>9</sup> but children scarcely had any sacred duties. Presumably the colour on the edge of the garment was originally thought to protect them from the approach of evil and perhaps also to endow them with extra power.<sup>10</sup> Where children were concerned the toga praetexta may originally have been an aristocratic prerogative: according to one story Tarquinius Priscus first awarded it to his fourteen-year-old son for bravery.<sup>11</sup> Later noble boys could wear it, then patricians, then equestrian boys (according to Macrobius<sup>12</sup>), until in the historical period it was worn by free-born boys, and girls too, and was the mark of free birth, the ornamenta ... ingenuitatis of Cicero.<sup>13</sup> After the second Punic War the sons of freedmen were permitted to wear it.<sup>14</sup> The bullae, a locket containing an amulet, which might be turpicula res,<sup>15</sup> was another mark of free birth, and was also supposed to have been given by Tarquinius Priscus to his son.<sup>16</sup> Well-born boys would have gold bullae, ornaments of beauty and considerable value, the sort of thing a Verres would steal,<sup>17</sup> whereas lower-class boys, including the sons of freedmen



after the Second Punic War, wore amulets of leather.<sup>18</sup> We occasionally hear of silver and bronze amulets also.<sup>19</sup> Girls did apparently sometimes wear the bullā, but the evidence for this is quite scanty;<sup>20</sup> they seem to have had instead various other articles of jewellery that were likewise gold.<sup>21</sup>

Children as a group were occasionally called upon to perform religious services on behalf of the whole state in times of national crisis or celebration. It is likely that the children who were eligible for this type of honourable duty were patrimi et matrimi, and probable that they were nobly born as well. For example, children were supposed to have been present when the Sabine women brought the war between the Romans and the Sabines to an end,<sup>22</sup> and again when a group of women went out of Rome to beseech Coriolanus to withdraw from the city.<sup>23</sup> A number of boys and girls sang a hymn during an obsecratio during the Second Punic War; they comprised free-born children and the children of freedmen with both parents living.<sup>24</sup> Ten boys and ten girls patrimi et matrimi performed a supplicatio after a portent in 190 BC,<sup>25</sup> and similarly in 108 BC 30 boys and 30 girls of the same status helped at a state sacrifice.<sup>26</sup> Twenty-seven boys and as many girls sang the Carmen Saeculare in 17 BC,<sup>27</sup> and some very noble boys and girls sang a hymn when the temple of Augustus was dedicated by Gaius in AD 37.<sup>28</sup> Thus children, like matronae, fulfilled a function in these state occasions.

Children had other outlets for activity in the state religion. The word camillus must once have meant 'boy', the son of the house perhaps.<sup>29</sup> But in the classical and later periods it was used in a religious sense to denote the young assistant wearing the tunic who carried various offerings and sacred utensils for use at a sacrifice.<sup>30</sup> Dionysius of



Halicarnassus tells us that under Romulus a boy and a girl from each curia assisted childless priests.<sup>31</sup> It seems that camilli were originally noble boys, who were also of course patrimi et matrimi.<sup>32</sup> Girls acted as assistants too.<sup>33</sup> Most frequent mention is made in our sources of the Flaminus Camillus and the Flaminia Sacerdotula who helped the Flamen Dialis and the Flaminica.<sup>34</sup> In art we find many examples of children as camilli at state sacrifices to the Lares and Genius Augusti also.<sup>35</sup> It is very interesting that in religious practice outside the home girls were in no way regarded as inferior. This was not true of family life in quite the same way, as will become apparent.

Girls were of value in religious life outside in another way. The virginity of older girls, uirgines, (as of women of course) was thought to have a much stronger and more positive power than the negative virginity of children,<sup>36</sup> especially in relation to rites concerned with agricultural and urban prosperity. At Lanuvium, for example, there was a sacred snake which had to be fed with a barley-cake by holy girls; if it accepted their offering the coming year would be plentiful, and incidentally the girls were thus proved to be virgins.<sup>37</sup> The famous Vestal Virgins benefited the Roman state with their powerful virginity for many long years of their lives<sup>38</sup> by keeping the sacred fire of the city and performing various rites and duties that were aimed at procuring prosperity for all.<sup>39</sup> The prayers of the Vestal Virgin were particularly efficacious: Cicero describes her, quae pro uobis liberisque uestris tot annos in dis immortalibus placandis occupata est.<sup>40</sup> Girls aged between six and ten, with both parents living, of good physique, and probably well-born - or at least of respectable family -, were eligible for the Vestal priesthood.<sup>41</sup> They wore special religious dress, a toga pura, uittae and a white veil. With reference to ritual chastity such as this, a require-

ment which was not after all usual in Roman religion, we may compare also the sacrum Cereris and the priestesses of Ceres.<sup>42</sup>

The uirgines too formed a group endowed with the power of helping the state on certain occasions. According to a decree of the pontifices after portents in 207 BC and 200 BC, 27 virgins sang a hymn throughout the city.<sup>43</sup> And on several other occasions during times of trouble a group of 27 virgins performed a rite, usually of lustration or singing, by themselves or else along with other ceremonies and offerings carried out by the populus and the matronae.<sup>44</sup> The Roman state made use of nubile girls. At the same time it was apparently very particular about the blameless virginity of girls in sacred positions.<sup>45</sup> For example, when Helvia, a virgin daughter of the equestrian class, was struck by lightning while on horseback in 114 BC, it was interpreted as a sign of disgrace among the Vestal Virgins and the equestrian order, a disgrace worthy of severe punishment and also the dedication of the temple of Venus Verticordia.<sup>46</sup>

In the great events of family life young children obviously did not take the initiative. They were of course the central figures in the various special occasions that marked their entry into the family and the later stages of their growth.

The first important religious event of the child's life took place when the seven or eight dangerous days immediately following its birth were over. This was the dies lustricus, which for some unknown reason was the eighth day (by Roman reckoning) for girls but the ninth day after the birth for boys.<sup>47</sup> Whereas we have scarcely any evidence for a lustration on that day<sup>48</sup> - this must be supposed from the actual name of the day -, it is quite clear that the child was ceremonially named on this occasion.<sup>49</sup> It is just possible that a sort of Roman godfather was involved in choosing the name,<sup>50</sup> and we may compare perhaps the

circumstance that the emperor Gaius, Nero's maternal uncle, chose the baby Nero's name.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes the child was named, if not after his father or another relative, from the month of birth: the old prenames ranging from Quintus to Decimus referred to months, as did the names actually derived from the names of months. Imperial prenames Primus to Quintus and Prima to Quarta referred to the order of birth among the children of the family.<sup>52</sup> Otherwise the name might be chosen casu, by the gods, because of some chance circumstance or omen, for the start of life was of course regarded as a moment of great omen. We come across such names as these: Numerius for a baby that was born quickly,<sup>53</sup> Hilaria for a happy baby,<sup>54</sup> Pastor as a name for a baby from a shepherd's pipe that was heard by chance,<sup>55</sup> Albinus from the baby's whiteness (although this was also a family name),<sup>56</sup> and Hostus Hostilius from the circumstance of birth in a hostile land.<sup>57</sup> John Chrysostom describes a method of choosing the name by which various suggestions were placed beside candles which were lit, the name beside the candle which burned the longest being chosen (for a good omen of course).<sup>58</sup> In a general way people looked back on birth and the naming-day as having produced omens lucky or unlucky of the child's future.<sup>59</sup> For example, in one case a brief tune on a pipe was interpreted as an omen of a brief life,<sup>60</sup> in another the fact that Asinius Pollio's baby smiled at birth was seen as a bad omen, for it died. (In Vergil however it is a good omen if the baby smiles at its parents.<sup>61</sup>)

The so-called Fata Scribunda, who seem to have developed into Fates or Parcae, may originally have represented the child's omens, the fate which had to be written down.<sup>62</sup> Nundina or Nona, the divinity associated with this (ninth) day, was originally no doubt concerned with omens and prophecies in the same way.<sup>63</sup> We cannot help but notice that she was attached to the ninth day, the day on which boys were named and not girls.



Only boys received a special, personal name. Girls on the other hand were merely called by their gens name, in earlier times at least, only acquiring an additional, more personal name when there was a need to avoid confusion in the family, when in fact there was more than one daughter. Presumably the reason for this divergence in practice was that boys were more important to their own family for the simple reason that they were the ones who would carry it and its sacra and its name on, whereas girls married away from the family and ceased to belong to it in the most important sense.

We should expect the family to hold some sort of festivity on this day that was important for the baby, and there is some evidence that they did in fact do so. They might make an offering to the household gods to obtain the child's welcome into the sacra of the household,<sup>64</sup> and they might have a banquet.<sup>65</sup>

A few great men were afterwards said to have been marked out for greatness because of some sign given them in early youth. Ants put wheat-grains into Midas' mouth, and this heralded future riches;<sup>66</sup> bees settled on Plato's lips, and this meant future eloquence;<sup>67</sup> a snake twined around Roscius promising him future fame.<sup>68</sup> The most famous example was Servius Tullius, whose head was said to have been ablaze with divine fire on one occasion when he was sleeping as a child.<sup>69</sup>

It is well known that the mortality rate of Roman infants was very high. So they evidently had need of the numerous helpful numina which Christian writers noted as being concerned with them, unlike the people of God, who sine tot diis puerilibus educati sunt.<sup>70</sup> Which gods the parents and nurses really invoked on behalf of the babies is not so clear. The emperor Gaius took his new-born daughter Drusilla to the Capitol, placed her on Jupiter's knees and gave her into the care of



Minerva.<sup>71</sup> But it is probable that the Romans usually believed that their small children were under the protection of their own household gods. However among the minor powers thought by some ancients to be manifested in the infant's progress were Cunina, named from the cradle;<sup>72</sup> Edusa, Edula or Educa and Potina,<sup>73</sup> and the Di Nutritores, who appear on coins of Saloninus son of Gallienus in AD 260,<sup>74</sup> all of these numina being concerned, it appears, with food and drink; Paventia or Paventina, thought to be derived from the baby's fears;<sup>75</sup> Statanus, Statina or Statilinus, who helped it to stand;<sup>76</sup> Fabulinus or Farinus, whose name was supposed to come from fari, for Varro says cum primo fari incipiebant, sacrificabant diuo Fabulino;<sup>77</sup> Adeona, Abeona<sup>78</sup> and Iterduca,<sup>79</sup> who directed its first steps; Mens for the development of the intellect.<sup>80</sup>

It was not only the gods who might be invoked to help the weak infant, and not only numina that were perhaps believed to lend their power to ensure its healthy growth. In the simple and superstitious home people might make use of various spells and potions, which seem to have been a haphazard mixture of real remedies and magical ones, to enable it to come through childish ailments.<sup>81</sup> The child had also to be protected from nasty spirits and other horrors, such as the Larvae, quarum natura esse dicitur terrere paruulos et in angulis garrere tenebrosis,<sup>82</sup> and the similar Lamiae, quas fabulae tradunt infantes corripere ac laniare solitas.<sup>83</sup> Some, in the shape of vampire-like birds, might enter the house from outside (or so the fearful and superstitious might think).<sup>84</sup> Ovid tells of a certain Crane who was able to get rid of them by means of various rites including touching the doorposts and the threshold with arbutus.<sup>85</sup> Crane is probably to be identified with Carna, the one-time goddess of inner physical well-being. We can well imagine the woman who had care of a child using every means she knew to avert evil and indeed

bring it good luck.<sup>86</sup> One such means was the fastening of an amulet (not the bullā of later childhood) round the baby's neck.<sup>87</sup>

The baby was named, the infant grew and developed with all the divine help and protection possible. Finally the day on which the young person stepped out of childhood into adulthood was indeed momentous, and this day was therefore accompanied by various religious rites. As Gagé suggests, it is possible that there was once a coming-of-age ceremony separate from the eve of marriage for girls, as there was for boys, when they would have entered a class of marriageable girls who were no longer children.<sup>88</sup> It seems quite likely that girls of this category were the uirgines who performed lustrations of the city on the occasions that have already been mentioned. But again there is no direct evidence to help us. However it is perhaps possible to suggest that some forgotten rite of puberty had in ancient times taken place at the Tigillum Sororium, and therefore perhaps that Juno Sororia had originally had something to do with adolescent girls<sup>89</sup> - although, as we have seen, this was not the case in Ovid's day. Fortuna Virginalis was relevant: girls might dedicate their togae praetextae to her.<sup>90</sup> Anyway, so far as we actually know, girls passed from childhood the day before their wedding day. Perhaps their coming-of-age ceremony, such as it was, was so curtailed and took place so soon before their marriage because they were not of great importance to the family they had been born into and also because they were normally married very young. We have already described how they dedicated tokens of childhood, such as clothes and dolls, to the gods,<sup>91</sup> and put on instead the special tunica recta.

Marriage did not mark the threshold of manhood for boys, partly perhaps because it came later for them, partly because it obviously had not quite the same importance for them as for the female sex, while on

the other hand the fact that they had become adult was a matter of considerable moment both to their own families and the state in general. Boys sometimes had not just one but two coming-of-age celebrations. The lesser, and usually the later, of these was the depositio barbae, when the young man shaved off his first beard and dedicated it to the gods.<sup>92</sup> The age at which this took place varies in the sources that we have from 17 to 23.<sup>93</sup> While there is no early evidence for the practice, it fits in well with the primitive idea that hair on the head or chin was a manifestation of vital power, of the Genius in fact.<sup>94</sup> Like Trimalchio the young man might place his beard in a special box and put it in the household shrine;<sup>95</sup> Nero placed his in a gold box decorated with pearls and dedicated it on the Capitol.<sup>96</sup> And he would make the occasion an excuse for feasting and drinking and such festivities.<sup>97</sup> It may be that Fortuna Barbata, a divinity who was apparently by Varro's time mysterious and scarcely understandable, had something to do with this?<sup>98</sup> Incidentally a youth might cut his hair and dedicate it to some god at any time, not necessarily at the moment of manhood.<sup>99</sup> Our evidence refers mainly to the favourites of great men in this connection.

The better-known and more important coming-of-age ceremony took place theoretically when the youth became physically mature, when his Genius awakened and became effective, that is, at any age between 14 and 17 and sometimes later than that.<sup>100</sup> The date usually chosen was that of the Liberalia, 17 March.<sup>101</sup> Ovid suggests various doubtful reasons for the date. But the original reason had no doubt to do with the fact that Liber was god of male fertility as well as of wine and of prosperity in general.<sup>102</sup> In addition March was the beginning of the military season, and the young men who had assumed the toga uirilis that year could be called up. Other dates were sometimes chosen: Vergil, for example, came



of age on 15 October.<sup>103</sup>

It is interesting that the main private feature of the ceremony, the feature that is most often referred to in our sources, was the change of clothing. The lad no longer needed the magically protective garments of childhood, and was clearly seen to have entered the class of grown men by what he wore from now on. When the boy wore his toga praetexta he was inuestis.<sup>104</sup> When he assumed the toga of a man he was uesticeps.<sup>105</sup> The boy took off his child's toga and also his bullae, which he might dedicate to the Lares.<sup>106</sup> He donned the tunica recta, the same sort of old-fashioned garment that the Roman bride wore,<sup>107</sup> and of course his new toga. The toga was denoted uirilis,<sup>108</sup> pura<sup>109</sup> or libera,<sup>110</sup> for the obvious reasons that it was the garment of adult men, was pure white, and was associated with the fact that the grown man had a flourishing Genius, with the fact that the grown man at his best was a free Roman citizen, and also with the god Liber. The youth may then have made an offering to the household gods, but we have no evidence on that point.

The remainder of the ceremony was a public affair, which might even attract attention if the boy were well-born or the son of an important man in a smallish community or of course in a great city like Rome. Cicero pleased the local townspeople thus: Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum.<sup>111</sup> Naturally the sons of emperors attracted attention, except for poor Claudius, who was taken to the Forum by night lest he should be seen and be an embarrassment to his imperial relatives.<sup>112</sup> The youth was normally accompanied by his family, friends and perhaps clients<sup>113</sup> to the Forum, if he lived in Rome, to be formally registered as an adult citizen.<sup>114</sup> Then they probably went up to the Capitol to make a sacrifice,<sup>115</sup> perhaps to Jupiter, other suggestions for the recipient being Pubertas and Liber.<sup>116</sup> A coin would also



be deposited for him in the temple of Iuventas,<sup>117</sup> whose name was connected with iuuenis. The cult of this ancient goddess was modified and revived in the third century BC, but she still had the care of the noui togati.<sup>118</sup> Augustus rebuilt her temple.<sup>119</sup> The noui togati themselves were now ready for a career in the state or the army. However humble or noble he was, the lad who had just entered into manhood was now fit to carry on his family and sacra, or possibly to be adopted into another family which needed him to survive into the future.<sup>120</sup>

Death all too frequently cut short a young life before it reached puberty and its concomitant celebrations. Perhaps because of their defective sexuality children were treated differently in death from adults. They were always buried, not cremated, and were thus returned to mother earth from whom all life springs.<sup>121</sup> Their last rites took place at night.<sup>122</sup> Their funeral was said to be acerbum, 'unripe' and 'immature', since they had died before they were full human beings, before they could achieve manhood or womanhood or possess a proper life-force.<sup>123</sup> Mourning for children was restricted by a law of Numa to a number of months equalling their age in years if they were between three and ten; younger children were not to be mourned.<sup>124</sup>

Among the other major events of family life children seem to have participated to greatest effect in weddings. Here they apparently symbolised the fertility of marriage and therefore their presence worked by sympathetic magic to promote the future luck of the bridal couple. They also served as attendant camilli. On decorative reliefs they may be seen helping at the wedding sacrifice.<sup>125</sup> Three boys who were patrimi et matrimi accompanied the bride as she processed from her father's house to her husband's, two holding her hands and the third marching in front with the lucky torch.<sup>126</sup> Tollite, o pueri, faces, cries Catullus in one

of his wedding hymns.<sup>127</sup> We remember also how Hymenaeus takes the place of the boys in artistic representations of weddings.<sup>128</sup> In the old days a camillus evidently also carried the sacred basket, the cumerum.<sup>129</sup> Then there were choirs of boys and girls.<sup>130</sup> Reliefs show that children were to be seen everywhere in attendance at weddings: the bridegroom might be attended by two, while a little bridesmaid might accompany the bride.<sup>131</sup> And it seems to have been mainly the children who were accustomed to shout rude jokes at the bride<sup>132</sup> - perhaps the praetextatus sermo mentioned by Festus fits in here<sup>133</sup> - to bring her luck and children of her own. When the procession arrived at the bridegroom's house, the children had nuts thrown to them, and thus they were part of double fertility magic.<sup>134</sup> Then again a child may have helped at the moment when fire and water were ritually offered to the bride: Servius says that water was brought per puerum felicissimum uel puellam.<sup>135</sup> Lastly it was her child attendants who led the bride into the bridal chamber and left her there.<sup>136</sup> So at weddings children played a considerable part both as assistants throughout the ceremonies and also as symbols of fertility and good luck.

They did not play an important part in the private religious festivals of the Roman year. Scanty evidence gives but a few hints of their sharing in the winter festivals, for example. Parui were present at the public banquet Domitian gave at the Saturnalia.<sup>137</sup> Schoolboys were on holiday during the festive period.<sup>138</sup> Caracalla as a boy received presents from his parents at the Sigillaria and gave them to his clients and teachers.<sup>139</sup> It is probable that children shared to some extent in the jollity of the New Year celebrations, the Compitalia and, in the country, any local festivals that came their way: Horace tells how in the olden days they shared with the farmer's family and fellow-workers

in offerings to Tellus, Silvanus and the Genius.<sup>140</sup> But, as was the case with women, the silence of the ancient sources conceals from us now the degree and the extent of their participation in such festivals.

It is other with the ordinary cult of every day in the Roman household. Here we have more evidence of the activity of children, who, like their mothers, seem to have enjoyed some religious freedom and the possibility of religious action in these private and mundane circumstances. They were camilli and camillae at home, assisting their father when he made offerings to the gods. Ancient literature contains a number of references to such child attendants, who often stood by, holding sacrificial utensils, an acerra or a turibulum for example, ready for the moment when they would be needed.<sup>141</sup> In Tibullus a daughter assisting her father brings honey as an offering.<sup>142</sup> Even the baby might be made to take part in the religious activity of the family. In the words of Prudentius the infant gustauerat inter // uagitus de farre mola, and watched the Lares being smeared with unguent and saw his mother praying.<sup>143</sup> In the view of Rose girls had a certain duty to tend the hearth, receptacle of offerings with its sacred fire, just as the Vestal Virgins tended the state fire.<sup>144</sup> Unfortunately there is no direct evidence for this. It seems to have been possible for a child to take upon himself the responsibility of ordinary everyday cult in occasional circumstances, if the parents were not religious. The well-known example of this is Euclio's daughter in the Aulularia of Plautus. The Lar Familiaris tells how she worships him: ea mihi cottidie // aut ture aut uino aut aliqui semper supplicat, // dat mihi coronas.<sup>145</sup>

The serving, as well as the preparation, of food had originally been regarded as sacred acts, and children in their chastity were suitable servers.<sup>146</sup> The custom of having children to serve at the

main meal-times seems to have carried on in imperial times,<sup>147</sup> even if in richer and perhaps childless homes slave children, and not the son or daughter of the house, performed these duties. The children might also give the meal-time offering to the household gods at the hearth, and they might announce that the gods had graciously accepted it.<sup>148</sup> At Trimalchio's dinner three slave boys entered the dining-room with the Lares, whom they put on the table, and one boy carried round a patera of wine and cried Dii propitii.<sup>149</sup>

We know that children had birthdays,<sup>150</sup> even if the existence of personal Genii and Junones is doubtful, and that they received presents from members of the family. In one Plautus passage a girl is given a brooch and a gold ring by a slave; in another a girl gets a gold bulla from her father;<sup>151</sup> elsewhere a baby boy receives a gift from his father.<sup>152</sup> In the sphere of personal religion, apart from birthdays, we have some slight evidence for children's worshipping the household gods on their own account or feeling themselves to be in their care: Tibullus has a little boy running about near the Lares,<sup>153</sup> Prudentius a little boy kissing the statue of a god and praying to it.<sup>154</sup> As far as we know children did not make epigraphic dedications to gods or people, but unhappily they themselves earned epitaphs when, as was frequently the case, they died young. Parents and grandparents, or the patronus or patrona of a foster child, would set up heart-rending epitaphs for them.<sup>155</sup> In sorrow Statius wrote a poem for a little uerua whom he had freed and adopted, and who then died.<sup>156</sup> As we should expect, children were, along with his wife and home, one of the most precious and holy things in life for a man.<sup>157</sup> This is as far as our scant sources allow us to penetrate into the extent of personal religiousness in children.

To sum up in a general way, after reviewing the rather sparse evidence



that applies to children in household religion, we can safely say that they participated fully in the major family events that concerned them and had a slight religious function otherwise in accordance with their youth. The religious validity they possessed was due to their lack of sexuality; what would later be their Genius or Juno was scarcely apparent. They formed a distinct group in Roman society, having special garments, and being able to act on behalf of the whole state at certain religious moments of history; their highest religious integrity resided in the quality of having both parents living. In the religion of the state they could be camilli to some priests, and the Vestal priesthood was open to some girls. In home life they were the most important people, as is obvious, at their naming day and when they came of age; when they died their funerals were different from those of people over the age of puberty. Children also had a certain function at weddings. In normal everyday cult they acted as assistants, and often served both men and gods at meal-times. They were able to indulge in some personal worship of the gods. Thus their religious functions suited their position in the family.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RELIGIOUS ROLE OF SLAVES  
IN THE FAMILY

In Roman religion, as in the view of enlightened Roman philosophers, slaves were not on the whole regarded as inferior beings: they were not less valid than free-born men, women and children. This is indicated by the fact, for example, that they wore no special dress that would have marked them out as having a different status;<sup>1</sup> indeed in the Roman world it was difficult to distinguish slave from freedman or free-born, especially if the last were not of honourable family.

This may well strike us as rather strange, particularly in early times, since a casual consideration of the nature of primitive religious thought would encourage us to believe that the slave must have been regarded as lacking in mana in the sphere of religion and magic in the same way as he was not a proper persona in the legal and civil sphere. Yet there is little enough evidence for this idea among the Romans. Nevertheless we should perhaps take into consideration the prohibition on enemies, prisoners, women and marriageable girls from attending certain sacrifices:<sup>2</sup> here the prisoners-of-war, who would subsequently become the slaves of their conquerors, were apparently thought of as being weaker and having lost mana, and therefore as dangerous with regard to the successful completion of the sacra in much the same way as women were. Men who were in the position of being prisoners or slaves were suffering from deminutio capitis, loss of status in a civil sense. The Genius in the slave's head must have become less free also, and have been somehow restricted, only to acquire or regain its true effectiveness when he was manumitted and (significantly) touched on the head. In the social and religious practice of Rome this seems to have meant mainly that slaves had no sexual rights, that they could not refuse to become the concubines, paramours or favourites of their masters and mistresses.<sup>3</sup> Only in this narrow sphere were they inferior to the free.

Otherwise, as far as we know, they enjoyed all the religious competence that could possibly be expected for people who were neither well-born nor wealthy and who moreover did not possess a household or sacra priuata of their own. Sacral law made no distinction.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately the fact that they were humble means of course that there exists less evidence for their habits, their ideas and the nature of their daily lives.

Slaves were associated by the Romans with Servius Tullius, who was born on 13 August, seruorum dies festus, as Festus tells us, quod eo die Ser. Tullius natus seruus.<sup>5</sup> He was the son of Ocresia, who, according to the legend, was in the position of a slave.<sup>6</sup> Slaves tended likewise to be associated with the cults which were supposed to have been instituted by him. One of these was that of Fors Fortuna; the dedication day of both her temples was 24 June.<sup>7</sup> It is not clear what interpretation one is to put upon this, unless that the story and the associations came about because Servius Tullius was the first to grant citizenship to freedmen.<sup>8</sup> But at least it indicates that slaves as a group had thus some ancient and honourable connections in Roman religion.

Moreover it was rare for them to be expressly excluded from Roman cults. One occasion when they were so excluded was at the festival of Mater Matuta, an ancient and scarcely comprehensible goddess who apparently had something to do with Roman families.<sup>9</sup> In her ritual a slave woman was chased away from the temple and beaten.<sup>10</sup> And this is evidently the crux of the matter: slaves were excluded because they were outside the Roman family. On the whole any religious disability from which they might suffer was not due to pontifical law or personal religious inferiority: it was merely due to a civil chance, to the fact that they did not belong to the established Roman families. And as soon as they

achieved this adherence, at the moment when they were manumitted and received their master's name, becoming part of his family, they lost even this degree of religious disability.

If the slave was equal to other men then he must have possessed a Genius like that of other men. Literary and epigraphic allusions to the Genius or Juno of a slave are scant. Nevertheless we may presume that slaves are included in the generalisations of certain writers about every single person's having his own Genius, such as were noted in Chapter Five.<sup>11</sup> In Plautus, for example, we find a slave's Genius, and a Genius and a Juno in two inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> As we saw above, the Genius may have been felt to be somewhat muted in the case of a person reduced to the condition of a slave. However the main reason for the silence of our sources is probably due rather to a lack of interest among Romans in the personal life of the slave.

As far as we know, there being no evidence to the contrary, slaves no less than free men and women enjoyed a fair degree of religious competence in the world outside the house. They were able to worship the gods of their choice, with the exception we noted above and of those other divinities whose cults, as we saw in Chapter Six,<sup>13</sup> were restricted to Roman families and in particular to the noble patrician and plebeian ones of the classical period.

There was a number of lesser priesthoods that were open to them. The best known of these were the offices of uicomagister and uicomminister which replaced similar, but less well regulated and less widely held, offices in the republican period,<sup>14</sup> all being part of the cult of the Lares Compitales. This cult was revitalised and reorganised by Augustus from 12 to 7 BC as a vehicle for promoting loyalty to the emperor and Rome. The city of Rome itself was divided for this purpose into 265



uici, at the focal point of each of which was the compitum.<sup>15</sup> Each compitum shrine was sacred to the two Lares and also the Genius of the emperor: mille Lares Geniumque ducis ... // urbs habet, says Ovid.<sup>16</sup> Four uicomagistri (or magistri compiti/ pagi/ uicorum/ pagorum) were elected annually from among the inhabitants of each district; they were usually freedmen. They enjoyed the right of two lictors and of the toga praetexta on special days,<sup>17</sup> but they come under the power of the city aediles, tribunes and praetors. The uicomagistri were assisted by a similar number of ministri, who were very often slaves. They held office for a year from 1 August until 31 July: thus the magistri of the first year of Augustus' rearrangements held office from 1 August 7 BC until 31 July 6 BC and were called magistri primi; the magistri of the next year were called magistri anni II, and so on.<sup>18</sup> The stone compitum altars exhibited in relief laurels and the imperial corona ciuica, and also scenes of processions and sacrifices during the Compitalia.<sup>19</sup> Everything was done with great ceremony: the uicomagistri led the procession and the sacrifice; they were assisted by a tibicen, clad like them in the toga, and by a popa with his attendants carrying the sacrificial knife and malleus, as well as by their own ministri. They celebrated with the sacrifice of a pig to the Lares and a bull to the Genius Augusti, with offerings of mola salsa and incense,<sup>20</sup> and with the revived ludi compitalicii.<sup>21</sup> They also had to crown the Lares with flowers twice a year, uernis floribus et aestiuis.<sup>22</sup> Numerous inscriptions set up by freedmen and slaves show that the official cult continued for several centuries until it was swallowed up by the Kalends of January festivities.<sup>23</sup> We do not know whether this long-lasting cult was indicative of real religious feeling or merely of status-seeking on the part of some of the humbler inhabitants of the city. Although Augustus' reforms

were primarily aimed at the city of Rome, other towns in Italy and the western empire followed suit, providing similar opportunities for their local freedmen and slaves.<sup>24</sup> These men avidly set up inscriptions to the Lares of the emperor, inscriptions connected with the dedication and especially the restoration of altars and similar paraphernalia of the compitum and sometimes with statuettes of the gods. In this way then Augustus attached the slave more closely to the Roman state, its public life and its religion. However the slave already had a close connection with the Lares in general, as will be further indicated below.

A few festivals or aspects of state cults seem to have been the province of slaves. Fors Fortuna has already been mentioned. There was a well-known festival in honour of Juno of the fig-tree on the Nonae Caprotinae, 7 July. It was confused with the Poplifugia in our sources. Juno was associated with the fig-tree as a symbol of fertility, and from it she derived her names Caprotina and Paloscaria. The festival was celebrated by matronae but more especially by slave women. This was so much the case that Macrobius could say diem festum esse ancillarum.<sup>25</sup> The ancillae dressed up, feasted, and romped about hitting each other.<sup>26</sup> No doubt the original idea was that this promoted fertility.

The Ides of August, which was the birthday of Servius Tullius and likewise the dedication day of the temple of Diana on the Aventine,<sup>27</sup> was fittingly a slaves' holiday.<sup>28</sup> On this day too slave women might ceremonially wash their hair.<sup>29</sup> Varro has a cryptic reference to an offering to slaves' Manes, faciunt diis Manibus servilibus sacerdotes, near the tomb of Acca Larentia on 23 December;<sup>30</sup> unfortunately nothing can be made of this, except that perhaps we can take it as one more slight hint that slaves were not inferior or beneath consideration in the religious sphere.

If however slaves ever did feel themselves perhaps socially and culturally excluded from the religion of the Roman state, they could, and very often did, combine with freedmen and the poor free-born to form religious organisations, or collegia.<sup>31</sup> Apart from during the troubled period of the first century BC when these were twice abolished and then permitted again,<sup>32</sup> the collegia were numerous and active. Besides being social clubs, they were usually dedicated to the cult of a chosen god, who might be more familiar to foreign slaves and freedmen than were the ancient gods of Rome. They also provided a sort of burial insurance for their members. Slaves and freedmen were often given places in the family tomb of their master or patron;<sup>33</sup> but if not, they could provide for their welfare in the afterlife and ensure that their names at least were remembered by means of joining a collegium. If they could not afford even this, they were reduced to the communal burial and anonymity of the very poor.<sup>34</sup>

Since slaves were technically outside the family unit they cannot have played an integral part in any of the important events that affected it, in weddings, births or funerals. Yet we may surmise that, from the very fact of their living in close proximity to the citizen family and of their being its servants, they must have shared in these events in a humble and unofficial way. They must have helped with the preparations and they would surely have taken more interest in the special activities of the people they knew so well than our lack of evidence might lead us to suppose. In Plautus and Terence, for example, we find a slave giving a birthday present to a girl and a birth present to a baby.<sup>35</sup> It was quite natural that they should share in family birthdays<sup>36</sup> or in funeral mourning.<sup>37</sup> We should imagine that this kind of attention was normal in a household where the relationship between masters and slaves was good. This does

not alter the fact that slaves had no definite religious function at events like these.

However there was one event of importance to the family unit in which the slave was indeed the central figure. This was of course his manumission. There is more evidence for this occasion, since it concerned the master too. The slave could save up and buy his own freedom or that of another slave,<sup>38</sup> but more often the master granted it to him for the various reasons already noted in Chapter Five.<sup>39</sup> A slave could be manumitted by any individual owner, including the emperor, or, if he was a public slave, by the town concerned.<sup>40</sup> Manumission according to any of the three proper forms, censu, uindicta or testamento,<sup>41</sup> endowed the slave with freedom and Roman citizenship, although for some purposes the freedman was still somewhat inferior to the free-born citizen. (His son would however be free-born.) Manumission censu, which was out-of-date by the early empire, was performed by the censor, who simply listed the slave as a citizen.<sup>42</sup> For the purpose of manumission uindicta master and slave appeared before one of the major magistrates.<sup>43</sup> An assertor libertatis or a lictor asserted that the man was free and touched or struck him on the head with the uindicta, at the same time no doubt dicens quaedam uerba solennia.<sup>44</sup> This uindicta or festuca was a rod, apparently a visible indication of power, which in early times was perhaps thought to convey power from the magistrate to the slave by physical contact.<sup>45</sup> According to Gaius the rod was employed quasi hastae loco, as a symbol of power and possession, in making a claim.<sup>46</sup> The slave was also freed with a slap on the face as well as by being turned round; the probable significance of these rituals was discussed in Chapter Five.<sup>47</sup>

The new freedman celebrated his altered state by shaving his head,<sup>48</sup> no doubt really in order to make an offering of his hair, the expression



of the revived Genius in his head. It was perhaps for a similar sort of reason that he also wore the pilleus,<sup>49</sup> a high cap made of hair or felt, which was originally perhaps made from the pelt of a victim; this was presumably believed in early times to strengthen the Genius in his now more vital head.<sup>50</sup> As a Roman citizen he put on shoes and a toga.<sup>51</sup> According to Varro, Feronia was libertorum dea.<sup>52</sup> She was goddess of markets, and it seems likely that market days were suitable occasions for manumission before the magistrate, so that in this sense she was concerned with freedmen.<sup>53</sup> We may compare the fact, given by Livy, that the freedwomen of Rome collected money as a gift for Feronia in 217 BC.<sup>54</sup> In her temple at Tarracina moreover there existed a stone seat inscribed with the words benemeriti serui sedeant, surgent liberi.<sup>55</sup> according to Latte this was a Greek method of freeing slaves. The ex-slave sometimes dedicated a symbol of his former life, such as his slave's fetters, to the gods: we remember the well-known lines of Horace, donasset iamne catenam // ex uoto Laribus.<sup>56</sup> Or he might fulfil a uotum made by him while he was a slave to the god he imagined would help him gain his freedom: a typical inscription of this type runs, Herculei sacrum C. Marci C.l.Alex. fecit, seruos uouit, liber soluit.<sup>57</sup>

Just as a Roman boy officially received his full Roman name on reaching manhood, so the freedman received his on manumission, when he took the name of his patron and joined his gens.<sup>58</sup> He still belonged to the entourage of his patron, to the latter's family in a wider sense, although he might live separately. He owed his patron various duties and in return he got a certain amount of care: for example, Pliny the Younger provided for both slaves and freedmen by setting aside for them part of his Laurentine villa.<sup>59</sup> It is probable that the freedman shared to some extent in household cult, especially if he still lived in the

household, and he often had the right, as was mentioned above,<sup>60</sup> to be buried in the family tomb. However if he married and set up his own household, he would naturally be the religious head of that, while still owing some adherence to his patron's family sacra.

If we turn now to the recurring religious festivals of the Roman year as they affected private families, we find that slaves had a considerable share in a number of them. Although the Saturnalia was a time of merrymaking for everyone, when the year's work was finished and the whole of Rome wore the cap of freedom, the slaves enjoyed the holiday more than anyone.<sup>61</sup> These days were feriae seruorum in the calendar.<sup>62</sup> During them slaves were allowed to be the equals of their masters, to joke and play with them: tota seruis licentia permittitur.<sup>63</sup> What is most often noted by Roman writers was that slaves feasted with their masters, or, probably in later times only, were even waited on by them.<sup>64</sup> The same sort of thing was true of the New Year festival which superseded the Saturnalia.<sup>65</sup>

Slaves were likewise permitted greater licence at the Compitalia, with extra wine and freedom from interference.<sup>66</sup> The fact that some of the oscilla that were hung up were for the benefit of, or represented, slaves<sup>67</sup> shows that the latter were closely associated with the Compitalia from early times. Slaves and free men sacrificed and made merry together at the turn of the year. The worship of the Lares Compitales was supposed to have been instituted by Servius Tullius,<sup>68</sup> so that here is yet another association of the king, cults and slaves. After the religious part of the festival local games,<sup>69</sup> especially boxing and wrestling, were held, perhaps mainly between the slaves, as is so evident from the wall-paintings at Delos (but not at Pompeii), and the prize seems fittingly to have been a leg of pork.<sup>70</sup> In the country the festival tended to be carried out by

slave or freedman bailiffs, even without their masters.<sup>71</sup> This feast that belonged par excellence to the whole neighbourhood with all its inhabitants, both slave and free, was, it seems, gradually left to the slaves and freedmen, as absentee landlords became more common.<sup>72</sup>

Another factor may have been that the Lares Compitales were the guardian spirits of the boundaries of farms and these were the slaves' sphere of action.<sup>73</sup> Thus for various reasons slaves were closely involved with the Lares and the Compitalia. Indeed we have a little specific evidence for slaves' making offerings to the gods at this festival: in Horace a slave girl offers incense, corn, a pig and garlands to the Lares.<sup>74</sup> And inside the house the household slaves always paid a great deal of attention to the Lares, no doubt because they were guardians of the whole household or farm and not merely of the Roman citizen family.

Lastly slave women had a certain share in the feast of Roman matrons, the Matronalia on 1 March. As the male slaves were feasted by their masters at the Saturnalia, so the ancillae were waited on by their mistresses on this day.<sup>75</sup>

As regards everyday cult, within the household slaves did not on the whole initiate any religious action, since that was the role of the paterfamilias. But on country estates the master might delegate religious duties to his bailiff: for example, the uilicus was allowed to make offering at the Compitalia and to sacrifice to Mars Silvanus,<sup>76</sup> while the uilica had to tend the hearth, lay a garland on it on feast days and pray to the Lar.<sup>77</sup> They were not permitted to act without orders,<sup>78</sup> presumably, that is, in cases which concerned the whole familia and not merely themselves as individuals. They had to accord due respect to the Genius of the master, they might swear oaths by it, and they often made dedications to it.<sup>79</sup> They might also sometimes do honour to the Genii



and Junones of other members of the free Roman family.<sup>80</sup>

Like children slaves acted as assistants at any religious celebrations that took place in the household.<sup>81</sup> Also like children they waited at table, and might perhaps make the meal-time offering to the household gods at the hearth, as two slave-boys do at Trimalchio's dinner, and as Ocreasia was supposed to have done, and declare that they accepted it.<sup>82</sup> Occasionally it seems that slaves were felt to carry on the cult of the household Penates (even!) on behalf of the whole family.<sup>83</sup> This was of course far more true of the Lares, the gods who looked after the house and everyone in it without distinction. Slaves presented and dedicated statuettes of the Lares and shrines for the benefit of all,<sup>84</sup> and were accustomed to pray to them and make them offerings.<sup>85</sup> In addition there was often a second sacred area with a second lararium painting in the kitchen of the house, where many of the slaves might be expected to spend a considerable part of their time.

Some slaves acquired a special status in the family they served. In smaller households especially, we can imagine, slaves lived on terms of great friendship with their masters. Slaves who were born in the household were often much loved by the master and his family: we read of them being fondled, of clustering round their master's table or round the hearth.<sup>86</sup> Sometimes indeed they may have been the master's own illegitimate children. Verna was used on epitaphs as a title of some honour among slaves.<sup>87</sup> Like Statius a master might free his uerna when he was very young and adopt him as his son.<sup>88</sup> Other favoured slaves were wet-nurses, who fulfilled an office of the utmost importance in a society which did not possess an adequate and hygienic method of artificial feeding and where infant mortality was high. The nutrix often earned her freedom, and her title was worthy of mention on her tombstone.<sup>89</sup>



A third type of slave who attained a special position in the house was the master's favourite.<sup>90</sup> It was sometimes a cause for celebrations when a favourite young slave dedicated to one of the gods his first beard or his long hair.<sup>91</sup>

Such then was the position of the slave in the citizen family, somewhat similar to that of the child but in the cases mentioned above perhaps even more privileged. Let us now consider as far as is possible the religious life of the slave in his own natural family, insofar as he succeeded in having such, as distinct from his religious life as an adherent of his master's family.

Valid marriage between slaves was of course impossible since they did not fulfil the civil requirements for it. But naturally they did marry, whether within their own household or outside it, and have children. Sometimes the slave called his wife coniunx or uxor, his wife calling him coniunx in return, even on epitaphs,<sup>92</sup> although technically each was contubernalis.<sup>93</sup> Slave families were in fact encouraged, both to ensure contentment in the familia, as an indication of prosperity in the shape of turbæ uernarum, saturi bona signa coloni, as Tibullus puts it,<sup>94</sup> and also to maintain a continuing supply of slaves in times when slaves captured in war became increasingly scarce. Columella counsels that slave mothers of three children should have no other work, and that mothers of more children should be granted their freedom as a reward for their services.<sup>95</sup> Inscriptions show plenty of mixed marriages between a free-born person, especially a free woman, and a slave,<sup>96</sup> for it was not usual for a woman to free a slave for the purposes of marriage. In such cases the children had the same civil status as the mother, after Hadrian at least. It was frequently the case that a freedman freed in turn the woman slave he wished to marry legally.<sup>97</sup> And a slave couple might be

freed by a thoughtful master at the same time,<sup>98</sup> and they could then regularise their marriage; their children would however remain slaves unless they were specifically freed as well.<sup>99</sup> Slave women were often the mistresses of their masters, but they might be freed for the sake of marriage if the men did not belong to the senatorial class.<sup>100</sup>

What then of the private, individual religion of the house slave? As we saw, the slave had his personal Genius or Juno, and in Plautus at least celebrated his birthday.<sup>101</sup> But most of our evidence comes of course from inscriptions. Slaves were allowed to set up inscriptions for personal reasons, and it is clear that slaves belonging to the same natural family set up epitaphs for each other, for their children, for their slave alumni, for their parents and so on.<sup>102</sup> Otherwise fellow-slaves of the same household or perhaps slave friends from different homes commemorated each other.<sup>103</sup> Slaves were able to make dedications to any gods they liked also;<sup>104</sup> Silvanus seems to have been a favourite, apart from the Lares. Lastly, as we have already seen, slaves made arrangements for their own funerals and cult after death either by gaining a place in their master's tomb or by contributing to a collegium. Only thus far will the evidence for the religious life of the Roman slave allow us to go.

In conclusion then it can be seen that the religious competence of the Roman slave was comparable to that of the humbler sort of free-born person, any disability being confined to a loss of sexual rights and exclusion from cults that belonged particularly to Roman families, the reason for the latter being that the slave was not really a constituent of the citizen family. He probably possessed a personal Genius or Juno. In religion outside the home he enjoyed the freedom of the poorer free-born. Absence of inferiority is shown by the association of slaves with

Servius Tullius and the cults he was supposed to have instituted. Slaves combined with freedmen and the humble to form collegia, and like them they were eligible for some priesthoods, especially in the Compitalician cult. Some unofficial participation by slaves in important family events must be presumed; they took a major part, of course, in the ceremony of manumission. They had opportunities to enjoy themselves extensively in the festivals of the Saturnalia, the Compitalia and the Matronalia. In everyday cult slaves might perform religious duties delegated by the master, and often acted as assistants, as children did. They accorded honour to the master's Genius. The Lares of the household were the special object of the slaves' worship since they were not the private gods of the citizen family. On the individual level certain slaves gained a privileged position in the master's family. They were permitted and encouraged to create quasi-marriages and families of their own which could be legally regularised after manumission. They celebrated their birthdays, set up epitaphs to one another, made dedications to the gods and concerned themselves with their own funeral arrangements. So in general the Roman slave was not inferior in the religious sphere; his only religious incompetence was due to the fact of his not being an integral part of a Roman citizen family and of his not possessing a civilly valid family of his own.

## CHAPTER NINE

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding seven chapters I have attempted to survey the nature of Roman household religion with special reference to the people who practised it rather than to the details of cult practice. Out of the confusing mass of evidence and supposition from ancient and modern sources, evidence that is too scattered, vague and thin to allow of making any particularly definite and well-proved assertions about this large area of Roman religion and Roman social life, and supposition that enables us to say perhaps too much, to hazard too many guesses about the multitude of topics that make up such a far-reaching subject, out of this confusing mass, which has in any case been compressed with a view to attaining a more balanced picture of household religion than concentration on certain attractive topics would allow, I shall seek to draw some general interpretations and conclusions.

Before looking at the questions concerning the nature of Roman household religion that were formulated in Chapter One and making some sort of answers to them, perhaps it would be helpful to reiterate one or two thoughts of a general character. At the beginning it was implied that the subject of this thesis covered a small area of Roman religion, which itself might be regarded as but a small part of the life and thought of the Romans. However after our somewhat hasty account of that area of religion I should like now to suggest that these details of the private sacra of Roman families throw a very considerable light on the general attitudes and social mores of ordinary Romans as well as on the official religion and the functioning of the state as a whole, in other words that the subject of this thesis is after all a large one and an important one. At any point it is possible to delve deeper into any number of related



topics, to go through gateways and along paths of discovery leading anywhere and everywhere.

We should perhaps also remind ourselves of the limitations of the the subject that were imposed upon it both by the nature of the evidence and also by my own decision. The nature of the evidence is such that our survey is mainly one of household religion during the central classical period in the city of Rome and its environs; and therefore my conclusions apply to that time and place. My decision to limit the copious subject in some way means that we have been concerned with the traditional Roman religion practised by the ordinary Roman family and mostly within the house-building. Occasional forays into the religious and social world outside the house have been made where they seemed relevant to the personal religious lives and functions of individual members of the family.

It may be thought that the tenor of my account of household religion and of my conclusions is somewhat too optimistic and positive in tone. In reply I should like to argue that I have taken this general stance in an effort to counteract an idea which lies perhaps at the back of many people's minds, that the private religion of the home was extremely slight and unimportant vis-a-vis the well-known and much-researched acts of the Roman state in religion and history, and that in particular women and slaves led lives of distressing humility and self-denial. To balance this feeling then I incline to the view that everything in the garden of Roman household religion was lovely.

So how important was their household religion to the Romans? This was the first question that was formulated in Chapter One. While admitting that the Romans obviously varied as individuals in the degree of their piety, religiousness and interest, we can assert with some assurance that the burden of evidence, literary, archaeological and epigraphic, even if

it is often scattered and brief, forces upon us the conclusion that it was indeed of the greatest importance to them. Any individual Roman was competent to take part in it, provided he was unpolluted by the contamination of death, and if, on more solemn occasions, he donned suitable clothing. He practised cult actively, he prayed to gods that were present to him as invisible numina or more usually as tangible figures, he made them offerings of food, liquids, flowers, unguents, spices and so on with the aid of altar, fire, hearth and a number of sacred utensils. And not only this, but his household cult was perpetuated in art and motto, in the everlasting visible presences of his gods. The same traditional cult was lovingly handed down through the generations within his family. Thus the Roman was completely surrounded by religion in his home. Indeed the general impression to be got from dipping anywhere into Roman religion is that their private sacra were what really mattered to the Roman family, as opposed to the impersonal religion of the state that was carried on by a handful of priests using ritual that was often incomprehensible to the ordinary person, that in fact household religion was their real religion.

Secondly an answer must be given to the question about the extent to which Roman household religion was indigenous. In the course of our discussions of its various aspects we have certainly noted instances of Greek influence recognisable, for example, in the idea of Juno as wife of Jupiter, in Saturn's public ritual at the Saturnalia, in the visual aspect of the Lares and other gods, and in the later character of the Genius as an external personal guardian and guide. Greek influence is not to be denied. We should not, however, overestimate it in the manner that the Romans themselves often tended to do. I think we can say that the main essentials of household religion were native and Roman. Some of the concepts that belonged to the remote past of prehistory were

clearly not peculiarly Roman or Italian but Indo-European or even universal. Among such concepts can be numbered the sacredness of house, door and hearth, and the idea that gods and numinous objects could be strengthened and refreshed by offerings containing or symbolising the sap of life. Nevertheless the development of vague groups of numina, which in turn became minor gods of indeterminate function that needed defining epithets, from sacred objects or places was a step in the process and progress of Roman religious thought: the Lares and the Di Penates were very Roman. As far as we know the concept of the personal Genius or Juno as the divine procreative life-principle resident in each living person was also entirely Roman. Cult was conducted Romano ritu. There is no reason to suppose that ritual and the paraphernalia of household cult owed anything to an outside civilisation, although the use of fire and altars was no doubt universal. In addition the fact that various mysterious divinities and indigitamenta, many features of cult, magical relics and ancient customs were no longer understood in the classical period or had been largely forgotten, their significance and origins being merely guessed at by antiquarian writers, proves, after all, their antiquity. If things are very old it is easier for us to be fairly certain that they are native. What is more, the civil institution of the family unit was ancient and particularly Roman. As has been stressed repeatedly, the family tended to preserve its own traditional sacra, and so we should expect that in the nature of things these sacra would be likely to maintain their ancient character, and indeed act in turn as bastions against change and external influence. In general then we may conclude that Roman household religion was essentially original, ancient and native, and that only the frills, so to speak, were added by Greek or other outside influence.

The third question of Chapter One was concerned with the limit which



was imposed artificially on the subject of this thesis and also physically on this part of Roman religion, namely the limit formed by the house-building. We know that the house was regarded throughout the early Indo-European world as a magic and sacred circle or enclosure within which the inmates were protected from harm. We have seen how even among the classical Romans vestiges of this belief remained, in their attempts to keep the house clear of the pollution of death and also in a rather vague sense of the sanctity of the house itself and of the doorway. Magic practices concerned with the latter help to indicate this. The Romans evidently had a far stronger feeling for the holiness of the hearth and the sacra within the house, and probably also for its inmost part, the penus. Although by the classical era the house itself was scarcely regarded as sacred or as a magic barrier, nevertheless the Roman family lived physically within it, conducted their private ritual inside it, and kept their holy things there, the gods associated with its holy areas, the shrine and the utensils of cult.

Fourthly it has become apparent how the family unit operated in the religious sphere. The Roman state was composed of family units, each under the headship of its paterfamilias. The evidence that is available to us all tends to indicate that the family was the first and earliest subdivision of the community and that the larger groupings of the gentes were somewhat later. The family unit enabled the state to function in a civic, social and religious sense: it produced citizen children, managed and kept intact its own property, attended to its own judicial affairs and preserved its own sacra. Although the paterfamilias was technically responsible to the pontifices for the conduct of private religion, in practice he was autonomous. Therefore the state could not survive without proper, well-defined families: they were necessary to



its stability. Hence arose the emphasis that is everywhere apparent on the need for the family line to continue and for the social, civil and religious inducements to marry, produce children, punish adultery and adopt sons in cases where there were no children. The state and public opinion encouraged the maintenance of stable families; the very nature of their private religion encouraged their survival no less. Possession of the same traditional household gods, of the same sacred utensils, of the same ancestors, a shared respect for the principal Genius in the house, participation in the same family events and the same religious festivals, all this contributed to the unity and survival of the family. The family in turn strove to maintain its sacra. It maintained also the cult, and therefore the beneficent care and example alike, of its ancestors; each person in the family took pains to see that due respect would be accorded him after death by his descendants or his heir. Against this background it is easy to understand how it was that slaves never really belonged to Roman families, although they might in practice have very close associations with them, unless of course they were adopted or married into them after manumission.

Lastly we examined the different roles of the members of the family. In general men enjoyed almost complete religious competence, except for the fact that their eligibility for certain priesthoods might depend variously on good or free birth or on membership of a certain gens. They were excluded from a few cults which were entirely the province of women. Women had a more specialised religious competence due primarily to their child-bearing function and sexuality, and secondarily in limited cases to their chosen chastity. They were in the care of the great goddess Juno and other divinities relevant to their personal lives, and in this they were perhaps more fortunate than men. In public religion they performed

subsidiary functions graded (in practice) according to their marital status and their position as matronae or uniuirae. Children were naturally much less important, but they possessed the purity and religious power inherent in their lack of sexuality. They were employed on religious occasions according to their good birth or their status as patrimi et matrimi. Slave men, women and children had on the whole the same religious validity as free-born men, women and children. The difficulties that certainly pertained with regard to their eligibility for most priest-hoods and for inclusion in certain cults existed because they were humbly born and were outside the established Roman families. Since they belonged in some degree to the families from which they had gained their freedom, freedmen had a certain subsidiary role in the religious affairs of the state.

Within the household the paterfamilias was of course head of the sacra priuata also, and as such he was supervisor and initiator of rites, religious festivities and the major events affecting the family unit, and upholder of the family's traditional gods and the traditional cult of the family's dead. He had the potestas and auctoritas to carry out his responsibilities. The wife, other women, the children and the slaves had supportive roles, but any of them could to some extent take the place of the paterfamilias in religious affairs if it became necessary to do so, particularly for the purposes of everyday cult. The wife had more religious authority in the home than other members of the family: as mistress of the sacra she had an important if discreet role at her husband's side. Moreover she was essential to the stability of the family in that she bore it legitimate children. As befitted their youth, children lived protected by the religiousness of the home until they became adult and full members of both family and state. They served as camilli in private

cult. Although slaves were more loosely connected with the family they were used as assistants in those private rites that were not totally esoteric and generally took a humble share in religious celebrations.

With regard to personal religion, it was found that men and women possessed their own Genii and Junones, while slaves had what were perhaps muted personal deities of this type and children undeveloped ones because of their immaturity. All celebrated their birthdays. All the adults were apparently free to make dedications to the gods as they pleased, and also to see to their own funerary arrangements. Slaves were no less active than the free-born and freed. Young and old indulged in such personal worship of the household gods as they wished, with the slaves concentrating on gods like the Lares rather than on those belonging specifically to the citizen family. Thus the roles of the different members of the family partly complemented one another and otherwise allowed considerable freedom for individual religious activity.

The questions formulated in the first chapter have thus been answered, to some extent at least, in the intervening chapters. I trust that reviewing the evidence in this way has produced an interpretation of Roman household religion which is fresh, at any rate to a degree, and also perhaps suggestive of further possible researches.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

(excluding normally accepted abbreviations of classical authors and their works and abbreviations of the titles of modern periodicals)

Balsdon <u>LL</u>	J.P.V.D.Balsdon <u>Life and leisure in ancient Rome</u> London 1969
Balsdon <u>RW</u>	J.P.V.D.Balsdon <u>Roman women</u> London 1962
Bloch	R.Bloch <u>The origins of Rome</u> London 1960
Bömer <u>AA</u>	F.Bömer <u>Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom</u> Leipzig & Berlin 1943
Bömer <u>URS</u>	F.Bömer <u>Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom (1) Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im lateinischen Westen</u> Mainz 1957-8
Boyce	G.K.Boyce <u>Corpus of the lararia of Pompeii</u> <u>MAAR</u> xiv 1937
Bulard <u>DRP</u>	M.Bulard <u>Description des revêtements peints à sujets religieux</u> Paris 1926
Bulard <u>PMM</u>	M.Bulard <u>Peintures murales et mosaïques de Délos</u> Paris 1908
Bulard <u>RD</u>	M.Bulard <u>La religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos</u> Paris 1926
<u>CAH</u>	<u>The Cambridge ancient history</u> Cambridge 1923-39
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</u> Berolini 1863-
Cumont	F.Cumont <u>Lux perpetua</u> Paris 1949
De Marchi	A.De Marchi <u>Il culto privato di Roma antica (1) La religione nella vita domestica</u> Milano 1896
De Marchi <u>GC</u>	A.De Marchi <u>Il culto privato di Roma antica (2) La religione gentilizia e collegiale</u> Milano 1903
Deonna-Renard	W.Deonna & M.Renard <u>Croyances et superstitions de table dans la Rome antique</u> Bruxelles 1961
D-S	Ch.V.Daremberg & E.Saglio <u>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</u> Paris 1877-1919
<u>EAA</u>	<u>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica</u> Roma 1958-66
Ernout-Meillet	A.Ernout & A.Meillet <u>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine</u> Paris 1932



- FA Fasti archaeologici Firenze 1946-
- Gagé J.Gagé Matronalia Bruxelles 1963
- ILS H.Dessau Inscriptiones Latinae selectae Berolini 1892-1916
- Latte K.Latte Römische Religionsgeschichte München 1960
- Maiuri A.Maiuri Ercolano. I nuovi scavi (1927-1958) I Roma 1958
- Meslin M.Meslin La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain Bruxelles 1970
- Nilsson M.P.Nilsson Roman and Greek domestic cult 1960
- Onians R.B.Onians The origins of European thought Cambridge 1951
- PW A.F.von Pauly, rev.G.Wissowa etc. Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft Stuttgart 1894-
- Radke G.Radke Die Götter Altitaliens Münster 1965
- Raglan Lord Raglan The temple and the house London 1964
- Rose PC H.J.Rose Primitive culture in Italy London 1926
- Rose RGR H.J.Rose Religion in Greece and Rome New York 1959
- Roszbach A.Roszbach Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedankmäler Leipzig 1871
- Samter FF E.Samter Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer Berlin 1901
- Samter GHT E.Samter Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod Leipzig & Berlin 1911
- Scott Ryberg Inez Scott Ryberg Rites of the state religion in Roman art MAAR xxii 1955
- Sydenham E.A.Sydenham The coinage of the Roman republic London 1952
- Toynbee Jocelyn M.C.Toynbee Death and burial in the Roman world London 1971
- Wagenvoort H.Wagenvoort Roman dynamism Oxford 1947
- Walde-Hofmann A.Walde, rev.J.B.Hofmann Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch Heidelberg 1938-56
- Warde Fowler W.Warde Fowler The Roman festivals of the period of the republic London 1899

NOTES : INTRODUCTION 1 - CHAPTER TWO 13Introduction

1. For this and other works mentioned in the Introduction see the list of abbreviations on pp223-4.
2. H.J.Rose Ancient Roman religion London 1948, now included in Religion in Greece and Rome New York 1959.

Chapter One

1. H.Wagenvoort Roman dynamism Oxford 1947 p78.

Chapter Two

1. Cic. De dom. 109; cf Livy v 52 - whole city full of the divine.
2. D-S Gens.
3. Ovid F vi 131-172. And see Chapter Seven ppl92-3. Spells could get in too: Pliny NH xxx 82.
4. Varro in St. Aug. CD vi 9. And see Chapter Six pl75. Samter GHT ch3, Rose PC ch7.
5. Ovid F v 421-444. And see Chapter Five pl33.
6. Plaut. Most 496-505, Pliny Y Ep.vii 27, Suet. Cal 59. The haunting would cease when the wandering dead got due funeral rites.
7. Varro LL v 23, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup><sub>L</sub>, p242<sup>11-14</sup><sub>L</sub>, Serv. Aen.i 329, Schol. Hor. Epod.17<sup>48</sup>.
8. Ovid F ii 23-24 - lictor, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup><sub>L</sub> & p68<sup>8-13</sup><sub>L</sub>, Ascon. Cic. Pro Mil. 67. See Frazer on the Ovid passage, De Marchi ch3(3), Samter GHT ch3, also Chapter Three pp69-70.
9. Pliny NH xxv 105-uerbena, xxv 109-quinquefolium.
10. Plut. Sulla 35<sup>2</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup><sub>L</sub>.
11. Cic. De leg. ii 55, Serv. Aen. iii 64. See H.LeBonniec Le culte de Cérès à Rome Paris 1958 p93.
12. Pliny NH xvi 40 - spruce, xvi 139 - cypress, Serv. Aen. i 329, iii 64, iv 507, vi 216.
13. Ter..Phorm. 97, Verg. Aen.xi 29-31, Pers. 3<sup>105</sup>, Pliny NH vii 46, Serv. Aen. xii 395.

NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 14 - CHAPTER TWO 23

14. Plut QR 5 with Varro's mythical reason. Rose RGR pl82, Wagenvoort ch5.
15. Cic. De leg. ii 58 = XII Tab. 10<sup>1</sup> - hominem mortuum, inquit lex in XII, in urbe ne sepelito neve urito. W.Warde Fowler Roman burial CR xi 1897 p33, J.E.King Infant burial CR xvii 1903 p83, W.R.Halliday Roman burial CR xxxv 1921 pl54, H.J.Rose Ancient Italian beliefs concerning the soul CQ xxiv 1930 pl29 & Roman religion 1910-1960 JRS 1 1960 pl61 on Von Duhn's Italische Gräberkunde.
16. But Samter GHT ch3 and E.Vetter Di Nouensides, di Indigetes IF lxii 1956 pl hold the view nevertheless that the Romans too regarded the house as impure after a birth.
17. Wagenvoort ch5; M.B.Ogle The house-door in Greek and Roman religion and folklore AJPh xxxii 1911 p251 considers however that the threshold was the place of the dead and that offerings made there were for the dead! See also K.Meister Die Hausschwelle in Sprache und Religion der Römer Sitz.Heidel.Akad.Wiss. xv 1924-5 no3, who explains that limen is a special word of ominous or religious connotation.
18. Ovid F ii 571-82 and Verg. E 8<sup>92-93</sup>; & cf Verg. E 8<sup>107</sup> - the dog barking in the doorway is a good omen.
19. Pliny NH xx 101 - sea-onion on the threshold, xxi 108 - asphodel in front of the door, xxviii 85 - menstrual blood on the doorposts, xxviii 104 - hyena's blood, xxviii 157 - wolf's head, xxxiv 151 - nails from coffins, xxix 67 - draco's head, xxx 82 - black dog's genitals. Warde Fowler p306, Samter GHT chl2, E.E.Burris The place of the dog in superstition CPh xxx 1935 p32.
20. Ovid F vi 101-2 ff. G.Dumézil Carna REL xxxviii 1960 p87, Radke Carna.
21. Ovid Met. vii 238-40 - Medea's altar outside the door (to work spells). De Marchi ch2(1), Bulard DRP chl.
22. Verg. Aen. vii 177-183 - ancestors, gods & sacris in postibus arma, Pliny NH xxxv 7 - images, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup> - household gods.
23. Verg. Aen. ii 439-90, 673-4, Tib. i 2<sup>9-14</sup>, Val. Max. ii 10<sup>2</sup> - people venerate and leave gifts at Scipio's door, Petr. 133, Stat. Theb. iii 687-3; cf Ovid Met. i 375-6 - suppliants at the temple steps, Livy xlv 44<sup>20</sup> - King Prusias kissed the limen curiae with undue humility.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 24 - CHAPTER TWO 36

24. Macro. i 7<sup>35</sup>.
25. Petr.30. Stumbling: Cic. De diu. ii 84, Ovid Her. 13<sup>88</sup> - pes tuus offenso limine signa dedit, Am. i 12<sup>3-6</sup>, Met. x 452, Trist. iii 4<sup>33</sup>, Tib. i 3<sup>19-20</sup>, Val. Max. i 4<sup>2</sup>, Plut. T. Gracc. 17<sup>3</sup>; cf Verg. Aen. ii 242-3 - the wooden horse halting at the gates of Troy.
26. Plaut. Cas. 815, Cat. 61<sup>159-160</sup>, Lucan ii 359, Plut. QR 29, Rom. 15<sup>5</sup>, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup>, Aen. ii 469, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup>. Threshold of the bridal chamber significant at Cat. 66<sup>15-17</sup> & Cic. Pro Cluent. 15.
27. Plaut. Merc. 830-1; cf Val. Flacc. i 675-6 - da reddere terris // has animas patriaeque amplecti limina portae. Rose RGR ppl80-1.
28. Fat: Pliny NH xxviii 135 & 142, Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 25, Donat. Ter. Hec. 135, Serv. Aen. iv 458, Mart. Cap. ii 149, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup>. Wool: Plut. QR 31, Lucan ii 355, Pliny NH xxix 30, Donat. Ter. Hec. 135, Serv. Aen. iv 458, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup>. Samter FF ch6, Rose RGR pl80 & PC ch7, Wagenvoort ch5.
29. Birth: Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>38</sup>, Juv. 9<sup>85-86</sup>. Wedding: Lucan ii 354, Juv. 6<sup>51-52</sup>, 6<sup>79</sup>, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 208-9 - nitidos postes myrto. General: Tib. i 2<sup>13-14</sup>, Sen. Thyest. 54-55, Juv. 12<sup>91</sup>, Pliny NH xv 127, Tert. Ad ux. ii 6, Apol. 35, De idol. 15<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, De cor. 13<sup>9</sup>. Bulard RD chl4 & 15.
30. Juv. 12<sup>92</sup>, Tert. De idol. 15<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Ad ux. ii 6, Apol. 35.
31. Ovid Met. i 562-3 & Aug. Res gest. 34 - Augustus' door, Pliny NH xv 127 - the houses of emperors and pontifices, Macr. i 12<sup>6</sup> - houses of the flamines (on 1 March).
32. Plaut. Pseud. 161-5; cf Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>230</sup>.
33. Juv. 6<sup>227-8</sup> - with hangings, Apul. Met. iv 26, Serv. Aen. vi 216; cf Verg. Aen. iv 504-7 - for Dido's funeral.
34. Prop. iii 10<sup>20</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 26.
35. Plaut. Pseud. 161-5, Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>6</sup>. Also Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 209-210 - filled with incense & perfumed.
36. Verg. Aen. v 743 - sopitos suscitatur ignis, Aen viii 542-3, Tib. i 1<sup>6</sup> - dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus, Mart. x 47<sup>4</sup>, Arnob. ii 67. De Marchi ch2(1) & (3), E.E.Burris The use and worship of fire among the Romans CW xxiv 1930 p43, Rose RGR pl78.



## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 37 - CHAPTER TWO 51

37. Cic. Phil. ii 75, Deleg. ii 45, De dom. 109, Pro Sest. 145, Pro Rosc. 23, Hor. Epod. 2<sup>43</sup>, Plut. Quaest. Con. vii 4, QR 1 & 75, Apul. Met. ii 12, Serv. Aen. iii 178; cf Plaut. Aul. 6-8 - treasure hidden under the hearth for safety.
38. Ovid F iii 143-4, Macr. i 12<sup>6</sup>, Solin. i 35.
39. Hist. Aug. Pert. 14<sup>3</sup> - a presage of death.
40. Verg. Aen. i 704, G iv 384-6, Sen. Thyest. 55-56, Mart. iii 58<sup>23</sup> - *larga festos lucet ad lares silua*, Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>37</sup>, Juv. 12<sup>92</sup>, Tert. Ad ux. ii 6, De idol. 15<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Apol. 35, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup>, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>, Samter GHT ch5, Onians p282.
41. Plut. Rom. 2<sup>3-5</sup> - Vesta connected.
42. Verg. Aen. vii 673-681 & X 543-4 - Vulcan, Mart. Cap. vi 642 - flames, Solin. ii 9 - found near a fire, Serv. Aen. vii 678 - a spark.
43. Dion. Hal. iv 2 - Vulcan or the Lar?, Ovid F vi 627-636 - Vulcan, Pliny NH xxxvi 204 - the Lar, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup> - Vulcan or the Lar, Arnob. Adu. gent. vi 18. Onians pl58. Cf Lact. Inst. ii 10, Isid. Etym. xx 10<sup>1</sup> - everything created from fire.
44. Hygin. 147, Ovid F iv 550-554, Serv. G i 19 & 163.
45. Apoll. Rhod. iv 867-870, Apollod. iii 13<sup>6</sup>.
46. Dion. Hal. iv 2, Ovid F vi 635-6, Val. Max. i 6<sup>1</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>.
47. Verg. Aen. ii 679-691. See Onians pl63.
48. Cf Serv. E 8<sup>106</sup> - sign of Cicero's consulship shown by flame blazing from ashes.
49. Hence penetralis: Cat. 68<sup>102</sup>, Cic De har. resp. 57, Verg. Aen. v 660.
50. Serv. Aen. xii 118 - *quidquid ignem fouet 'focus' uocatur, siue ara sit, siue quid aliud in quo ignis fouetur*. See in general D-S Focus, Bulard RD ch11, H.C. Bowerman Roman sacrificial altars 1913 p3, Boyce index Altars.
51. Dion. Hal. iv 2, Ovid F vi 629-630, Verg. G iv 384, Pers. 3<sup>26</sup> & Schol. - *cultrixque foci secura patella*, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>, Sil. Ital. vii 183-5, Serv. Aen. i 730.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 52 - CHAPTER TWO 57

52. Cato De agri. 5<sup>3</sup>, 143<sup>2</sup>, Ovid F i 75-76, Prop. iv 3<sup>58-60</sup>.
53. Ovid Trist. v 5<sup>10-12</sup>, Prop. iii 10<sup>20</sup>, Tib. ii 2<sup>3</sup>, iv 6<sup>4</sup>, Mart. x 24<sup>5</sup>.
54. Cic. Pro Scauro 48 - Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur, Ovid F vi 365, vi 435, vi 444-56 - pignora ... fatalia, Livy v 52<sup>7</sup> & Ogilvie ad loc., xxvi 27<sup>14</sup> - conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperi Romani, Luc. i 598 - Troianam ... Mineruam, ix 994, Plut. Numa 9<sup>8</sup>, Cam. 20<sup>3</sup> - saved from the Gauls, 20<sup>5</sup> - τὰ ἐντὸς ἀθέατα κρύπτεσθαι παύσι,..... Τρωϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο Παλλὰδος = hearsay, 20<sup>6</sup> - 1 jar open and empty, 1 sealed and filled were hidden there or else under the temple of Quirinus (=Doliola), Hist. Aug. Elag. 6<sup>6</sup>, 6<sup>8</sup>, - he broke 1 jar that was empty, 6<sup>9</sup> - signum tamen quod Palladium esse credebat abstulit, St. Aug. CD iii 18 - sacra illa fatalia, Prud. C. Symm. i 195. The fact that the sacra were hidden gave rise to conjectures: Rose RGR p203, F.Bömer Rom und Troia Baden-Baden 1951 ch2(9), A.Brelich Vesta Zürich 1949 ch7, K.R.Prowse The Vestal circle G & R xiv 1967 pl74.
55. Cic. ND ii 67 - rerum custos intumarum, Verg. Aen. ii 297 - adytis ... penetralibus, v 744 & ix 259 - canae penetralia Vestae, Dion. Hal. ii 67<sup>1</sup> - no men might enter by night(!), Ovid F vi 449-50 - sacra ... non adiunda uiro, F iii 443 - arcana ... in aede, Hor. Ep. ii 2<sup>114</sup> - penetralia as a safe and secret place, Lucan i 598 - only the Vestal virgins might see the Palladium, ix 993-4 - Palladium in abstruso ... templo not seen by men, Fest. p296<sup>12-4L</sup> -(penus u) ocatur locus intimus in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus, Lact. iii 20 - sacra quae aspici a uiris nefas habeatur, Hist. Aug. Elag. 6<sup>6</sup> - sacra populi Romani sublati penetralibus profanauit, 6<sup>7</sup> - in penum Vestae, quod solae uirgines solique pontifices adeunt, inrupit, Serv. Aen. iii 12 - ipsum penetral penus dicitur. In the fire of 241BC the pontifex maximus Metellus entered the penus to save the sacra: Cic. Pro Scauro 48, Ovid F vi 444-56, St. Aug. CD iii 18.
56. Cic. ND ii 68 - siue a penu ducto nomine, Firm. Mat. De err. 14<sup>2</sup>; cf Macr. i 24<sup>22</sup> - Penates and penus associated.
57. Cic. ND ii 68 - est enim omne quo uexuntur homines penus, Gell. iv 1<sup>20-1</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p231<sup>3-9L</sup> - res necessariae ad uictum cotidianum, Firm. Mat. De err. 14<sup>2</sup>, Dig. xxxiii 9<sup>1-7</sup>. Ernout-Meillet, Walde-Hofmann.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 58 - CHAPTER TWO 66

58. Verg. Aen. ii 297 & v 744 & ix 259 - penetralia, Hor. Ep. ii 2<sup>114</sup> - penetralia, Livy xxvi 27<sup>14</sup> - penetrale, Fest. p296<sup>12-14</sup>L - penus ... locus intimus in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus, Hist. Aug. Elag. 6<sup>7</sup> - penus, Serv. Aen. iii 12 - penus. But Warde Fowler p148 sees it as a store room.
59. Varro LL v 162 - penaria, Paul.-Fest. p231<sup>8-9</sup>L - locus penarius, Firm. Mat. De err. 14<sup>2</sup> - cella penaria.
60. Cic. ND ii 68 - penitus insident ... penetrales, Aug. Res gest. 19 - θεῶν κατοικιδίων, Dion. i 67<sup>3</sup> - (some) μυχίους, Fest. p296<sup>27-30</sup>L - penetralia, penes & potestas connected, Paul.-Fest. p89<sup>26-27</sup>L, p231<sup>1</sup>L - penetralia sunt penatium deorum sacraria, Non. p72L - penus, penitus, penetralia connected, Serv. Aen. ii 484 - penetralia, penitus & penates connected, Isid. Orig. viii 11<sup>99</sup> - penates dicti, quod essent in penetralibus, Orig. xv 4<sup>4</sup> - penetralia & penitus connected. FW Penates.
61. Gell. iv 1<sup>17</sup> - penus is penitus.
62. Serv. Aen. iii 12.
63. Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 40 - various great gods qui penitus nos regant ratione, Serv. Aen. ii 296 - (nonnulli) per quos penitus spiramus.
64. Dion. i 67<sup>3</sup> - (some) κτησίους, Fest. p296<sup>27-30</sup>L - penetralia & penes & potestas connected, penes nos, quod in potestate nostra est, Non. p51<sup>3-5</sup>M - what is owned is kept right inside. This is the interpretation argued by Radke Penates.
65. Plaut. Merc. 834-6, Cat. 9<sup>3</sup>, Cic. Pro Sest. 145, Phil. xii 14, De dom. 109 & 143, Pro Rosc. 23, Pro Quinct. 83, De lege agr. ii 57, Pro Mil. 38, Ovid Trist. iv 8<sup>9</sup>, Livy xxii 1<sup>6</sup>, xxiv 26<sup>2</sup>, Sen. Oct. 606-7, De ben. i 11<sup>4</sup>, Ad Marc. de cons. 16<sup>4</sup>, Quint. Decl. 290, Trag. Rom frag. inc. 243(p316)R. No late evidence. See in general De Marchi chl(2), FW Penates, G. Piccaluga Penates e lares SMSR xxxii 1961 p81.
66. Verg. G iv 155, Aen. viii 39, 123, xi 264, Livy xxviii 18<sup>2</sup>, Ovid Trist. i 3<sup>95</sup>, Prop. ii 30<sup>21</sup>, Val. Max. vi 1<sup>0</sup>, Sen. Ad. Marc. de cons. 24<sup>1</sup>, Pers. 2<sup>45</sup>, CIL vi 1779=ILS 1259 - (Paulina)... utilis penatibus.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 67 - CHAPTER TWO 78

67. Ovid Met. viii 637, xii 551, Prop. iv 1<sup>121</sup>, Val. Max. i 1<sup>15</sup>, Sen. De clem. i 15<sup>3</sup>, Thyest. 52, Lucan ii 331, 384, vii 394, x 453, Mart. vii 27<sup>5</sup>, viii 1<sup>1</sup>, 75<sup>1</sup>, ix 18<sup>7</sup>, Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>87</sup> & 7<sup>30</sup>, v 1<sup>198</sup>, Tac. H i 15, Colum. De agr. xii pr. 7, Macr. i 24<sup>25</sup>, Claud. In Ruf. i 82.
68. W. Warde Fowler The religious experience of the Roman people 1911 p73-74, Rose RGR p173, Bömer op cit. ch2(1), Latte p89, and P. Boyancé Les pénates et l'ancienne religion romaine REA liv 1952 p109, who at least believes that the Penates as gods of the inside preceded the idea of them as food-store gods.
69. Bömer op cit. ch2(1) & (8).
70. Cata. 9<sup>35-36</sup>, Cic. Verr. II iv 17, Verg. Aen. ii 717, iv 598, v 62-63, Hor. Od. ii 18<sup>26-27</sup> - paternos, iii 27<sup>49</sup>, Sat. ii 5<sup>4</sup>, Tib. i 3<sup>33</sup>, Sen. Oct. 149, Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>54</sup>. No late evidence.
71. Naev. fr. 25(3) - mensa penatium, Cic. De har. resp. 57 - deorum ... mensas, Verr. II iv 48 - patella of Penates on table, Verg. Aen. v 62-3 - adhibete penatis // et patrios epulis, Pliny NH xxviii 27 - gods at table, Tac. A xv 52 - sacra mensae dique hospitales; cf juxtaposition at Verg. Aen. i 704 - cura penum struere et flammis adolere Penates, and at Macr. i 24<sup>22</sup> - cura uel adolendi Penates uel struendi penum. Deonna-Renard chl(1).
72. Serv. Aen. ii 469 - sacrata ... culina Penatibus, Schol. Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>73</sup> - culina ... dii penates colantur.
73. Verg. Aen. ii 717, iii 148-150, iv 598, viii 543, Hor. Od. ii 18<sup>26-28</sup> - in sinu, iii 23<sup>15-16</sup> - paruos, Porph. Hor. Od. ii 18<sup>26</sup>.
74. Cic. Verr. II iv 18 - res ... diuinas apud eos deos in suo sacrario, Verg. Aen. i 704 - flammis adolere penatis, Tib. i 3<sup>33</sup>, Pers. 5<sup>31</sup> & Schol. - confusion between Penates & Lares, Colum. i 8<sup>20</sup>, Tert. Ad nat. i 10, Lact. Epit. diu. inst. 28, Serv. Aen. iii 178, Macr. i 24<sup>22</sup>.
75. Cic. ND ii 68 - etymology uncertain, Dion. i 67<sup>4</sup>, ii 66<sup>6</sup>, Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 42 - personaliter ignoramus qui sunt ... Penates, Serv. Aen. i 378 & ii 296 - various ideas about origins, Procop. v 25<sup>19</sup> - τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν, Isid. Orig. viii 11<sup>99</sup> - doubt about nature. First in CIL i<sup>2</sup> p280 Men. rust. = ILS 8745. See Warde Fowler p337.
76. PW Penates, Bloch ch3 & 6.
77. Dion. i 67<sup>4</sup> (Timaeus).
78. Boyancé op cit.



## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 79 - CHAPTER TWO 86

79. Bömer op cit. ch2(5).
80. M. Crawford A Roman representation of the Κέρας Τρωικός JRS lxi 1971 pl53. Mr. Gordon Howie of the University of Edinburgh has suggested to me that the Trojan Penates may have been the ashes of one's ancestors carried with one in small vessels: this would tie in well with hut-urns, doliola and 'Trojan earthenware'.
81. Varro in Serv. Aen. i 378, & iii 148 - quaedam lignea uel lapidea sigilla, also Verg. Aen. iii 148 - effigies, Schol. Veron. Aen. ii 717 - (Varro) lignea sigilla uel lapidea, terrena quoque.
82. Cic. De har. resp. 12, Ovid Met. xv 864-5 - Augustus' private Vesta, Penates and Apollo treated as state gods, Tac. A xv 41, Prud. C. Symm. i 195 - Vesta, Palladium and Penates mentioned together, Macr. iii 4<sup>11</sup> - de numero Penatium aut certe comitem eorum, the major magistrates sacrificed to Vesta and the Penates at Lavinium on entering office, Serv. Aen. ii 296 - utrum Vesta etiam de numero Penatium sit, an comes eorum, the major magistrates sacrificed as above on leaving office; cf Verg. Aen v 743-5 - Aeneas worships the Trojan Lar and Vesta, Aen. ix 258-60 - an oath by the Penates, the Trojan Lar and Vesta. Some scholars such as Nilsson and Bömer op.cit. ch2(1), (5) & (8) thought that the Penates Publici were in the penus Vestae, but the evidence is negligible: Brelich op.cit. ch7, Rose in the review in CR i 1951 pl07, Radke Vesta.
83. Bömer op. cit. chl(6) - hence perhaps the saying that Roman cult was carried on sine simulacro; Latte p89.
84. Brought by Aeneas from Troy: Varro in Serv. Aen. i 378 & iii 148, Verg. Aen. ii 717, iii 148, iv 598, etc., Serv. Aen. ii 296, iii 168. Trojan Penates thought to be Neptune and Apollo at Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 40 (Nigidius), Serv. Aen. i 378 (Nigidius and Labeo), ii 325(alii).
85. From Samothrace via Troy: Serv. Aen. i 378 (Varro), ii 325 (alii).
86. Serv. Aen. i 378 - (Cassius Hemina)= θεοὶ μεγάλοι, iii 12 - (Varro)= Magni Di, but Servius notices that the cult of the Penates at Lavinium and of the Magni Di in Rome must be different; cf perhaps Verg. Aen. iii 12 - Penatibus et magnis dis, viii 679 similarly. However Varro LL v 58 says that the Magni Di of Samothrace are not the

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 86 - CHAPTER TWO 101

- 86.contd. Dioscuri or Penates. See C.Peyre Castor et Pollux et les Pénates pendant la période republicaine MEFRL lxxiv 1962 p433 and Nicole Masquelier Pénates et Dioscures Lat. xxv 1966 p88.
87. S. Weinstock Two archaic inscriptions from Latium JRS 1 1960 pl12 and Masquelier op. cit.
88. Varro LL v 54, Livy xlv 16<sup>5</sup> - struck by lightning 16BC, Aug. Res gest. 19, Solin. i 22.
89. Dion. i 68<sup>1-2</sup> - two youths seated and holding spears, Serv. Aen. ii 325 - alii hastatos esse et in regia positos tradunt; Scott Ryberg ch4.
90. Peyre op.cit. For the opposite view: see R.B.Lloyd Penatibus et magnis dis AJPh lxxvii 1956 p38. On the evidence of coins in general see Sydenham p76-8 & pl62 for 103 & 46BC, and FAA Penati.
91. Serv. Aen. ii 514; also Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>99</sup>, De Marchi chl(2), Latte p90.
92. Plaut. Stich. 534 and Ter Phorm. 311.
93. See Boyce index Penates (painted). For Herculaneum see Maiuri.
94. See eg the famous painting of Bacchus and Vesuvius from Pompeii IX 8<sup>3+6</sup> = Boyce 448.
95. Bulard RD ch7; D-S Hercules.
96. Bulard RD ch8.
97. Some information about Ostia can be got from R.Meiggs Roman Ostia Oxford 1962 chl5, and R.Calza & Maria Floriani Squarciapino Museo Ostiense Roma 1962.
98. Cic. In Verr. II iv 4-7 - also an old wooden Bona Fortuna (of no artistic worth).
99. Val. Max. i 2<sup>3</sup> & Plut. Sulla 29<sup>6</sup>.
100. Petr. 29, also Suet. Galba 4<sup>3</sup> & 18<sup>2</sup> - Galba's bronze Fortuna, Apul. Apol. 63 - Apuleius' Mercury, Met. viii 7 - a husband as Liber, Paul. -Fest. p89L - Herceius Iuppiter, Amm. Marc. xxii 13<sup>3</sup> - silver dea caelestis, Prud. Contra Symm. i 205 - Fortuna.
101. Denise Joly, La mosaïque pariétale au 1er siècle de notre ère: une niche décorée d'un Hercule au Musée des Thermes Mel. Arch. Hist. lxxiv 1962 pl23.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 102 - CHAPTER TWO 109

102. Eg Scott Ryberg ch3 - Hercules, Victoria, etc. on an altar in the Villa Borghese, ch11 - altar to Silvanus in the Museo Arch., Florence.
103. Verg. Aen. iv 457-9 - Dido's temple to her dead husband, Ovid Pont. iv 9<sup>105-12</sup> - Ovid's Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus and Drusus, Suet. Vit. 2<sup>5</sup> - Vitellius' father's gold Narcissus and Pallas, Hist. Aug. M. Ant. phil. 3<sup>5</sup> - gold magistri, Seu. Alex. 29<sup>2</sup> - emperors, Apollonius, Christ, Abraham and Orpheus, Seu. Alex. 31<sup>4-5</sup> - Vergil, Plato, Cicero, Achilles and Alexander the Great, St. Aug. De haeres. 7 - Jesus, Paul, Homer and Pythagoras.
104. See above pl8.
105. See Chapter Three p75.
106. Arnob. iv 6, iv 11 - genium focorum. Radke Lateranus.
107. Ovid F vi 291; also Cic. ND ii 67 - uis ... ad aras et focos pertinet, Verg. G iv 384, Moret. 51, Sil. Ital. vi 76-77, St. Aug. CD iv 10 - Vestam non nisi ignem esse perhibeant pertinentem ad focos, CD iv 11, Firm. Mat. De errore 14<sup>3</sup>, De Marchi ch1(3).
108. Ovid F vi 294-7.
109. Cic. ND iii 80 & De or. 10 - simulacrum Vestae; and much later Alberich De imag. deor. 17 - virgin with baby Jupiter in her lap on top of the temple. On coins: Sydenham pl52-3 - coin types of Q. Cassius c57BC, pl38 - coin type of P. Sulpicius Galba c65BC, pl56 - coin type of L. Cassius Longinus, c52-50BC, pl68 - coin type of G. Julius Caesar 50BC, Coins of the Roman empire London 1917 p54 - coin type of Nero with Vesta with a spear inside her temple, p70 - coin type of Vitellius showing Vesta seated with patera and torch and 'Vesta P.R.Quiritium', Ryberg ch12 - 2nd cent. coin types of Lucilla, Crispina, Julia Domna, A.Greifenhagen Das Vestarelief aus Wilton House Winckelmanns-programm 121/122 1967 - 3rd cent. coin types of Julia Domna. Other: Ryberg ch5 - small non-Roman altar in Naples museum shows Vesta with patera and donkey, taken to be a copy of Augustus' Vesta; Greifenhagen op.cit. - the Sorrento base shows Vesta between 2 goddesses and the round temple with the Palladium, the Flavian Palermo relief, a Hadrianic relief has Vesta with a cornucopia. See also Bulard RD ch11, EAA Vesta.

NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 110 - CHAPTER TWO 120

110. Boyce index Penates (painted) - 1 Vesta in a kitchen at Pompeii, 1 near a kitchen, 1 in a latrine!, 1 doubtful (Epona?).
111. = CIL vi 30832. This is the relief from Wilton House described by Greifenhagen op. cit. It was found near the springs of Camenae, probably from a little shrine; so it does not belong to household religion.
112. See Chapter Three pp51-52.
113. Cic. ND ii 67 - and connected with uis, De leg. ii 29, Lyd. De mens. iv 94. Ernout-Meillet, Walde-Hofmann, Nilsson.
114. Ovid F vi 299-300 - parallel to Vesta and ui stando, Lyd. De mens. iv 94, Ernout-Meillet, Walde-Hofmann.
115. Suggestions in Ernout-Meillet & Walde-Hofmann; Radke Vesta suggests derivation from some word which he would have mean 'bring a sacrifice to fruition'.
116. P.Lambrechts Vesta Lat. v 1946 p321.
117. Ovid F vi 310 - fert missos Vestae pura patella cibos, although this would seem from its position to refer to the Vestalia only and Louise A.Holland Janus and the bridge MAAR 1961 app. A regards this passage as referring to public religion; also Sil.Ital. vii 183-5 - primum Vestae deterisit honorem (in the legendary past). In spite of appearances Deonna-Renard chl think Vesta was honoured as much as the Lares and Penates; see also Latte p90.
118. Verg. Aen. v 743-5. And she might receive an offering on the farm after that made to Jupiter Dapalis: Cato De agr. 132<sup>1-2</sup> - Vestae, si uoles, dato. Latte p90nl, p207.
119. CIL i<sup>2</sup> 452 (3rd cent. BC) = FA 1950 no2261 - Vestai pocolo (public or private?), CIL ii 1166 (Baet.), ii 3378 (Tarrac.), v 3919-20 (Cis. Gall.), v 8655 (Cis. Gall.), vi 786 - pro salute Iuliae Aug., vi 787-8, ix 326, xiii 2940; cf Juv. 6<sup>385-3</sup> - woman offers far and wine to Janus and Vesta and asks about the fortunes of a musician; FA 1966 no5511 - P.Stuart 'Votum Pium'. Goden en hun vereeders to Nijmegen Numaga xiii 1966 p203 on votive altars to Vesta.
120. Ovid F vi 317 - inde focum obseruat pistor dominamque focorum, Pliny NH xviii 107 - women made bread at home before bakers appeared at



## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 120 - CHAPTER TWO 130

120. contd. the time of the Third Macedonian War; cf CIL vi 787 set up by C. Pupius Firminus, who was probably quaestor of a bakers' guild in AD 144: see Greifenhagen op. cit. FA 1953 no 3697 - B. Borecky on the production of flour and bread at Pompeii in Listy Filologicke lxxvi 1953 p 65; Latte pl 10, 143-4.
121. Boyce index Penates (painted), and see also De Marchi ch 1(3), Greifenhagen op. cit. who compares a marble altar at Naples showing the Bona Dea and Vesta, the latter seated on a throne and holding a patera and with a donkey.
122. CIL i p 266 Fasti Phil., i<sup>2</sup> p 216 Fasti Tusc., p 221 Fasti Ven., p 224 - Fasti Maff.
123. Ovid F vi 317, Lyd. De mens. iv 94. Donkeys: Ovid F vi 318, vi 469-70; cf Copa 26.
124. Ovid F vi 312.
125. Ovid F vi 311 - ecce coronatis panis dependet asellis, vi 347-8 - loaves, vi 469 - violets, Prop. iv 1<sup>21</sup>, Lact. i 21<sup>26</sup> - loaves, Lyd. De mens. iv 94. Warde Fowler pl 48, Latte pl 44.
126. Ovid F vi 315-8 - bakers worship Vesta because bread was made in the private focus, Lyd. De mens. iv 94 - because bread used to be made in the temple of Vesta. So we can take our pick! According to Radke Vesta the bakers' goddess had nothing to do with the well-known Vesta and was connected with her because of the coincidence of their festivals on 9 June.
127. For use at the Vestalia, the Epulum Iouis on 13 September & the Lupercalia on 15 February. Serv. E 8<sup>82</sup>; cf Fest. pl 52<sup>5-13</sup>L - muries. Warde Fowler pl 10, 115 & 149, Rose RGR p 202-3, Latte pl 09.
128. Parilia and Fordicidia: Ovid F iv 731-5; Warde Fowler p 71, Rose RGR p 215 & 223. Rites of the Bona Dea: Cic. De har. resp. 37, Ad Att. i 13<sup>3</sup>, Dio xxxvii 35; see Chapter Six pp 142 & 150. Ceremony of the Argei and of the October Horse: see Warde Fowler pl 12-5 & 150.
129. As Warde Fowler p 282-3 & op. cit. ch 4 believes. City Janus prior: Holland op. cit. ch 18.
130. Carm. Sal. FPR Baehrens - es ianeus, ianes es!, cf Tert. Ad nat. ii 15<sup>5</sup> - arc (uum Ianum) patrem. Wagenvoort ch 5, Latte pl 35.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 131 - CHAPTER TWO 139

131. Ovid F i 257-8 - cum tot sint Iani, cur stas sacratus in uno, // hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?, Mart. x 28<sup>3-4</sup>. Warde Fowler p286-7, Latte pl32.
132. Cic. Phil. vi 15, vii 16, De off. ii 87, Hor. Sat. ii 3<sup>18-19</sup>, Ep. i 1<sup>54</sup> - Ianus summus ab imo. Holland op. cit. ch4.
133. Latte pl32. Ianus was evidently not a city gate but an archway inside the walls: Warde Fowler p287.
134. Macr. i 9<sup>8</sup> - (Nigidius) Janus = Apollo and Iana = Diana. Frazer on Ovid F i c89 - Janus = Dianus. But according to Radke Ianus any connection with Diana is impossible.
135. Cic. ND ii 67 - ab eundo nomen, Ovid F i 126-7 - it, redit ... Iuppiter ... // inde uocor Ianus, Macr. i 9<sup>11</sup> - (some) ab eundo, Serv. Aen. vii 610 - ab eundo. So several modern scholars: M. Renard Aspects anciens de Janus et de Junon RBPh xxxi 1953 p5, Radke Ianus, Meslin intro.2.
136. Holland op. cit. passim especially ch3, 5 & 18. Meslin chl(1) disagrees.
137. Verg. Aen. vii 130 - bifrontis, xii 198, Ovid F i 65 - biceps, 89, 95 - ancipiti imagine, Pliny NH xxxiv 33 - Ianus geminus a Numa rege dicatus, Plut. QR 22, Minuc. Felix 22<sup>5</sup>, Herod. i 16<sup>2</sup>, Macr. i 9<sup>4+9</sup>, i 9<sup>13</sup>, i 9<sup>15-16</sup> - title Geminus, Serv. Aen. vii 610, St. Aug. CD vii 8 - duas eum facies ante et retro habere dicunt, hence connection with ianuae, Auson. Dom. 6 p26-27 Peiper 6. The two-headed Janus which appears on numerous coins from the 3rd century BC onwards was probably a Greek type: Sydenham passim - the as 269-37BC, EAA Giano, Holland op. cit. chl6, Latte pl35.
138. Mart. X 28<sup>6</sup>, Macr. i 9<sup>13</sup> - in quattuor partes spectat (ie the Janus from Falerii), Serv. Aen. vii 610, Lyd. De mens. iv 1 - in the Forum of Nerva = Forum Transitorium. This Janus was supposed to have come from Falerii in 241BC, but all the evidence for it is much later. It is interesting that the Consular Fasti were inscribed on this arch. See Holland op. cit. ch3, Meslin chl(1), Radke Ianus.
139. Carm. Sal. FPR Baehrens - Patulci, Cloesi!, Ovid F i 129-30 - Patulcius and Clusius titles used by the priest, Macr. i 9<sup>15-16</sup> - Patultius/Patulcius and Clusivius, Serv. Aen. vii 610, Lyd. De mens. iv 1. Latte pl33nl, Radke Clusivius, where he manages to dispute that the name comes from claudere, and Patulcius.

NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 140 - CHAPTER TWO 146

140. Fest. p204<sup>11-19</sup>L - third spolia opima offered as male lamb to Quirinus, Macr. i 9<sup>15-16</sup> - Q. quasi bellorum potentem, from Sabine curis = spear, Lyd. De mens. iv 1 - (Labeo) Q. because πόμαχος, iv 2 - Janus god of people going to war; cf Serv. Aen. vii 610 - some say Janus = Mars & title of Quirinus. See Wagenvoort ch5, Onians p348. Holland op. cit. ch5 thinks that bridges were broken in war, the river being the city boundary, and that Janus was a war god for this reason. See also Latte p205nl on spolia opima.
141. Aug. Res gest. 13, Hor. Od. iv 15<sup>8-9</sup>, Ovid F i 282, Suet. Aug. 22.
142. Varro LL v 165, Aug. Res gest. 13, Suet. Aug. 22. See on this Latte pl32n3 - the evidence not being early is slightly unsatisfactory. Gates of war and peace in general: Verg. Aen. vii 610, Ovid F i 277-82 - shut to stop Peace departing!, Pliny NH xxxiv 33, Mart. x 28<sup>7-8</sup>, Serv. Aen. vii 610. Rose RGR p204, Holland op. cit. ch3, Radke Ianus.
143. Varro LL v 165, Fest. p302L.
144. Plut. QR 22 - an early civiliser, Macr. i 9<sup>2</sup> - some say he brought peace and religion to houses in the mythical past, i 9<sup>3</sup> - Xenon says he invented temples & rites, Lyd. De mens. iv 2 - (Demophilus) he invented houses & doors, (Dio) a hero. Warde Fowler p239, Meslin intro.2.
145. Cic. ND ii 67 - transitiones peruiuae iani foresque in liminibus profanarum aedium ianuae nominantur, Ovid F i 257 - tot sint iani, Tert. De idol. 15<sup>5</sup> & De cor. 13<sup>9</sup> - a ianua, Fest. p394<sup>28-33</sup> - arch through which enemy was sent was specie Iani, Macr. i 9<sup>7</sup> - Ianum omnibus praeesse ianuis nomen ostendit, Serv. Aen. i 449 - Ianus and ianua connected, Lyd. De mens. iv 2 - (Demophilus) from ianua. Warde Fowler p236-7 - several non-religious iani, Rose RGR ppl79 & 204 - ianus mostly = ceremonial gateway especially for the army, Holland op. cit. ch5 & 17 - various archways.
146. Ovid F i 135-6 - door faces in and out, i 173 - limina seruo, i 253 - pacem postesque tuebar (in golden past), Macr. i 9<sup>2</sup> - (some) introitus et exitus aedium sacred to Janus, 9<sup>7</sup> - omnium et portarum custos et rector uiarum, 9<sup>9</sup> - (some) ianuae caelestis potentem, Serv. Aen. vii 610 - patendarum portarum habeat potestatem.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 147 - CHAPTER TWO 157

147. Ovid F i 99 - staff and key, i 137-140 - doorkeeper, i 177 - staff, i 254 - key, Macr. i 9<sup>7</sup> - cum clauis ac uirga figuratur, Gaius Bassus in Macr. i 9<sup>13</sup> - quasi superum atque inferum ianitorem, Lyd. De mens. iv 1 - key.
148. Verg. Aen. viii 180-1 - lanique bifrontis imago // uestibulo astabant (Saturn also).
149. Cf Tert. Adu. gnost. scorp. 10 - potestates ianitrices. M.B.Ogle The House-door in Greek and Roman religion and folklore AJPh xxxii 1911 p251.
150. Tert. Ad nat. ii 15<sup>5</sup> - a foribus, De idol. 15<sup>5</sup>, De cor. 13<sup>9</sup>, Adu. gnost. scorp. 10, St. Aug. CD iv 8 - foribus, vi 7. Radke Forculus suggests it might really = bringer.
151. Arnob. Adu. gent. iv 9. Latte p208 regards Lima and Limentinus as probable indigitamenta; Radke Lima.
152. Tert. Ad nat. ii 15<sup>5</sup> - liminum, De idol. 15<sup>5</sup>, De cor. 13<sup>9</sup>, Adu. gnost. scorp. 10, Arnob. Adu. gent. iv 9, iv 11 - praesidem liminum, St. Aug. CD iv 8, vi 7. Radke Limentinus.
153. Tert. Ad nat. ii 15<sup>5</sup> - (a cardi)nibus, De idol. 15<sup>5</sup>, St. Aug. CD iv 8, vi 7; cf Ovid F vi 101-2 - (Carna)dea cardinis haec est, vi 127, Tert. De cor. 13<sup>9</sup> - Carnam a ... cardinibus.
154. W.F.Otto Römische Sondergötter RhM lxxiv 1909 p449, Latte p71nl, Radke Cardea.
155. Macr. i 12<sup>31-32</sup> - uitalibus humanis praeesse credunt. This is the interpretation of G.Dumézil Carna REL xxxviii 1960 p87, deriving Carna from caro, carnis, but Latte p71 is much less definite; Otto op. cit. regards her as a goddess of the dead (probably the Carnii).
156. Varro in Non. p539L - calendis Iuniis et publice et priuatim fabatam pultem dis mactant, Ovid F vi 101 - 1 June, vi 169-72 - lard and bean porridge, Macr. i 12<sup>31 & 33</sup> - cui pulte fabacia et larido sacrificatur, kal. Iun. fabariae. Warde Fowler pl30-3, Latte p70-71.
157. Ovid F vi 101 & 169-82 refer to Carna, 105-69 refer to Crane, 101-4 & 127-8 refer to a hinge god. See Warde Fowler pl31-2, Dumézil op. cit., Radke Carna. See above pl6.



NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 158 - CHAPTER TWO 166

158. Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup> - threshold = rem Vestae, Aen. ii 469 - uestibulum ... Vestae consecratum.
159. Ovid F vi 302-4 - the focus used to be in primis aedibus, Non. p75L - altars & hearths used to be at the entrance and in spaces (ie atrium). Bulard RD ch11 suggests that in early times the hearthfire was outside the door.
160. Ovid F vi 303; cf Varro in St. Aug. CD vii 24 - quod uestiatur herbis. De Marchi chl(3) thinks this may be correct. Vestibulum itself seems to mean a place in front of the door or a smaller building added on, the etymology being quite uncertain: Walde-Hofmann.
161. Said to be the same as Palaemon by Fest. p278<sup>20-22</sup>L, Serv. Aen. v 241. God of doors: Paul.-Fest. p48<sup>25-27</sup>L - deus putabatur esse portarum, Schol. Veron. Aen. v 241 - Portunus, ut Varro ait, deus por(tuum porta) rumque praeses.
162. Cic. ND ii 66 - a portu; cf XII Tables 2<sup>3</sup> - portum=doorway, but Fest. p262<sup>19-22</sup>L understands this use as = house. Modern views vary: Warde Fowler p203 - safe place, then barn, Latte p89n2 - door, then harbour, Radke Portunus - completed going-through, while Holland op. cit.ch9 and The attribute of Portunus and the Verona Scholion on Aen. v 241 in Homm. à A.Grenier ii Bruxelles-Berchem 1962 p817 characteristically takes portus as probably equalling ferry.
163. Fest. p238<sup>7-9</sup>L - flamen Portunalis arma Quirini unguet, whatever this means: Quirinus had his own flamen; see Warde Fowler p202.
164. Varro LL vi 19 - the dedication day of the temple in portu Tiberino.
165. Schol. Veron. Aen. v 241 - (from Varro) clauēs in focum ad(dere prope) mare institutum; Huschke reads addere et infumare, Latte additas flammare, Holland The attribute of Portunus additas infulare. In accordance with their interpretations Warde Fowler p203 takes clauēs as = keys of barns and storehouses, Latte p89 as = keys to be purified in the fire, Holland as = tillers smoked over the fireplace.
166. Paul.-Fest. p48<sup>25-27</sup>L - clauim = doorkey; but Breu. expos. Georg. i 437 p271<sup>10</sup> Hagen - clauum (=tiller) tenens pingi solet. Latte p89 takes it as = key, Holland in both op. cit. as = tiller. The truth would seem to be that Portunus' attribute was interpreted in different ways as his function changed.

NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 167 - CHAPTER TWO 172

167. Varro LL vi 19 - temple in portu Tiberino, Serv. Aen. v 241 - deus marinus qui portubus praeest, Breu. expos. Georg. i 437 p271<sup>10</sup> Hagen - portibus praesit. Warde Fowler p202-3, Latte pl32; Holland Janus ch9 thinks he could not have been a god of harbours since he had no cult at Ostia, but only of ferries.
168. Latte and Holland think that Portunus was earlier than Janus and that Janus took over Portunus' attribute, while F.Altheim A history of Roman religion London 1938 ptii ch3 thinks the reverse.
169. Cato De agr. 134 - offering to Janus in the ritual of the porca praecidanea, Verg. Aen. vii 180-1 - image of Janus at the entrance, Juv. 6<sup>385-8</sup> - woman offers far and wine to Janus and Vesta and asks about the fortunes of a musician (but this may be in public temples); cf Procop. BG i 25<sup>19</sup> - first of the ancient gods = Penates. See W. Warde Fowler The religious experience of the Roman people 1911 ch8 on the porca praecidanea. The epigraphic evidence may only refer to the public sphere: CIL iii 2969 (Dalm.), iii 3158 (Dalm.), viii 2608 (Num.) - set up by priest and son, viii 4576 (Num.), xi 5374 - set up by 2 slaves. Latte pl36 sees Janus as a substitute for local gods in Dalmatia and Numidia.
170. E.Samter Der Ursprung des Larenkultes ARW x 1907 p368, Warde Fowler p337, N.Turchi La religione di Roma antica Ist. stud. rom. Bologna 1939, E.Tabeling Mater Larum. Zum Wesen der Larenreligion Frankfurt am Main 1932, S. Weinstock Two archaic inscriptions from Latium JRS 1 1960 pl12, R.M.Ogilvie The Romans and their gods London 1969 pl01, Deonna-Renard pl7. An opposing view is taken by Nilsson, Latte p93-94, Radke Lares; while De Marchi chl(1) takes both positions.
171. Varro in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41, Apul. De deo Soc. 15<sup>152-3</sup> - kindly spirits of the dead, Paul.-Fest. pl08<sup>27-29</sup> L, p273<sup>7-12</sup> L, St. Aug. CD ix 11, Serv. Aen. iii 302 - manes piorum, vi 152 - Laruae from Lares, Mart. Cap. ii 155 & 162.
172. Ovid Ibis 79-80 - plebs superum ... semideumque genus, Apul. De Plat. i 12<sup>206</sup> - daemones uero, quos Genios et Lares possumus nuncupare, ministros deorum arbitratur custodesque hominum et interpretes. Cf R.Vallois Observations sur le culte des Lares RA xx 1924 p21. And see below p33.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 173 - CHAPTER TWO 178

173. Ovid F v 129-139 - praestitibus Maiae Laribus uidere Kalendae // aram constitui paruaque signa deum, Plut. QR 51 - Lares dressed in dogskin & accompanied by a dog. See on the dogskin Warde Fowler p100-101, and Tabeling op.cit. & M.C.Waites The nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art AJA xxiv 1920 p241, who see the dog as chthonic. For them as guardian gods see Warde Fowler p335. On coins of L.Caesius c103BC: Sydenham p76, and cf EAA Lari, Latte p94.
174. Livy xl 52 - (censor M. Aemilius Lepidus 179BC) dedicauit aedem Larum permarinum in campo, Macr. i 10<sup>10</sup> - (22 December) feriae sunt Laribus dedicatae, & temple, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p238 Fasti Praen. 22 Dec., CIL xiv 4547; Latte p93 n 4. Lares Viales: Plaut. Merc. 864-5, CIL iii 1422 (Dac.), vi 36812, xi 3079, and especially in Spain: CIL ii 2417, 2518, 2572, 2987, 5634, 5734. Lares Semitales: Cata 10<sup>20-25</sup> = a parody of Cat. 4<sup>22-27</sup> - litoralibus diis, CIL vi 36810, xi 3079 - Laribus conpitalibus, uialibus, (s)emitalibus; cf CIL xii 4320 (Gall. Narb.) - uiatores.
175. Paul.-Fest. p90<sup>28</sup>L - derived from hostes however; cf also Pliny NH xxi 11 - publici, CIL vi 459 - salutare, vi 455 (AD168) - praediorum, vi 10266-7 - Volusianorum, vi 36811 - curiales.
176. Nigidius in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41 - Curetes/Digiti Samothracii/ Idaei Dactyli, Cic. Tim. 38 - δαίμονες, Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>3</sup> - ὁ κατ'οἰκίαν ἥρωες for the Lar Fam., iii 70<sup>2</sup> - ἥρωες and iv 14<sup>3</sup> - ἥρωες πρὸς for the Lares Comp., Hygin. 139<sup>4</sup> - Curetes/Corybantes, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup> - ἥρωες οἰκουρὸς for the Lar Fam., Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12</sup> - daemones.
177. Val. Max. inc. auct. lib. 4 - Lars from Laribus. D-S Lares, G.Niebling Laribus Augustis magistri primi Hist. v 1956 p303, M.Guarducci Cippo latino arcaico con dedica ad Enea Bull. Mus. Civ. Rom. xix in Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. Roma lxxvi 1956-8 p3. This is one of the suggestions of Ernout-Meillet, who compare the Etruscan divinity Laran/Laruns. J.Heurgon Lars, largus et Lare Aineia Mel. d'arch. et d'hist. offerts à A.Piganiol Paris 1966 ii p655 - cf largus & name Larcius, & Etruscan Larce, Laris, Larθ (Lars).
178. Rose RGR p188, G. Laing The origin of the cult of the Lares CPh xvi 1921 p124, Walde-Hofmann, Radke Lares and G.Radke review of Ileana Chirassi Dea Dia e Fratres Arvales SMSR xxxix 1963 f 2 p191 in Lat.

NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 178contd. - CHAPTER TWO 185

- 178 contd. xxix f3 1970 p828. According to PW they would be angry spirits of the dead (ie. still derived from \*las).
- Another suggestion is that the root indicates a place: Arnob. Adu gent. iii 41 - the Lares were gods of streets because the Greek for streets is λαύραι. See also PW, and Walde-Hofmann, who compare old Nordic læri = 'dwelling'.
179. Implied by much ancient evidence: Varro LL v 74, Varro in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41, Ovid F ii 615-6, Lact. Inst. i 20<sup>35</sup>, Auson. Technop. 8<sup>9</sup> (de dis), Serv. Aen. vi 152. See Ernout-Meillet & Walde Hofmann.
180. CIL i<sup>2</sup> p369 = CIL vi 2104 p569 (AD218) = ILS 5039, Varro LL vi 2, Quint. Inst. or. i 4<sup>13</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p323<sup>5-7</sup>L.
181. ILS 5047 (AD 183), 5048 (AD 224/5), CIL vi 2104 p569 (AD 218); cf ILS 9522 (AD 240). Latte p92.
182. Tert. Spect. 5 - cum inscriptione huiusmodi 'Consus consilio, Mars duellio, Lares comitio potentes. Consus seems to be misunderstood here. A.von Blumenthal Die Inschrift des Consusaltars in Circus Maximus ARW xxxiii 1936 p384 reads 'Consus consilio, Mars duellio, Lares comitio potentes'; Radke Lares. Mars is apparently the god of war here. A much quoted passage of Livy, at viii 9<sup>6</sup>, giving the supposed deuotio sworn by P.Decius Mus in 340 BC, where the Lares are invoked with other gods, is unhelpful. M.C.Waites The Nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art AJA xxiv 1920 p241 and E.Vetter Di Nouensides, di Indigetes IF lxii 1956 pl for example manage to argue from this passage that the Lares must be connected with the dead!
183. ILS 9522 (AD 240) - Matri Larum cenam iactauerunt.
184. Varro LL ix 61 & in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41 & Macr. i 7<sup>35</sup>, Fest. pl14<sup>15</sup> ff - mother of the laruae. For the view that the Mater Larum = Mania see L.R.Taylor The mother of the Lares AJA xxix 1925 p299. Radke Larum mater.
185. (1) From manus = 'good' according to Ernout-Meillet, Walde-Hofmann and the majority of the ancients: Carm. Sal. (FPR Baehrens): Paulus pl22, Varro LL vi 4, Paul.-Fest. pl09<sup>4-7</sup>L, pl12<sup>24-25</sup>L, pl33<sup>10-12</sup>L, pl51<sup>6-7</sup>L, pl55<sup>20-23</sup>L, Non. p66 M, Macr. i 3<sup>13</sup>, Serv. Aen. i 139, ii 268, iii 63. Latte pp60 & 93 disputes a connection between Mania and Manes.



## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 185 contd. - CHAPTER TWO 195

- 185 contd. (2) From manus = 'clear' or 'dawning': Non. p66 M, Macr. i 3<sup>13</sup>; R. Vallois Observations sur le culte des Lares RA xx 1924 p21.
- (3) From manare: Varro LL vi 4, Fest. pll4<sup>15ff</sup>L, Paul.-Fest. pll5<sup>6-7</sup>L, pl46<sup>20-23</sup>, Serv. Aen. iii 63, iv 490, Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>100</sup>.
- (4) From manus = 'thin', 'small', cf μavός : Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>100</sup> - rarus, Radke Manes & Mania, Altheim op. cit. eg pl63.
186. Ovid F ii 615-6, Lact. Inst. i 20<sup>35</sup> - dea Muta = Lara/Larunda. Radke Lara.
187. Lact. Inst. i 20<sup>35</sup>, Auson. Technop. 8<sup>9</sup> (de dis).
188. CIL i<sup>2</sup> p338 Comm. diurni, Ovid F iii 55, Plut. QR 35, Rom. 4<sup>3</sup>, Gell. vii 7<sup>5-8</sup> (Sabinus Masurius), Tert. Ad nat. ii 10, Apol. 25, Macr. i 10<sup>11-17</sup> (Macer). This Larentia on a coin type of c 37BC: Sydenham pl87.
189. CIL i<sup>2</sup> p338 Comm. diurni, Plut. QR 35 - 2 Larentiae, Rom. 5<sup>1-5</sup>, Gell. vii 7<sup>5-8</sup>, Tert. Ad nat. ii 10, Lact. Inst. i 20<sup>4</sup>, St. Aug. CD vi 7, Macr. i 10<sup>11-17</sup>.
190. Plut. Rom. 4<sup>4</sup>.
191. Varro LL vi 23 & 24, Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 23<sup>8</sup> (i 15<sup>8</sup>), Ovid F iii 57, Plut. QR 34, Rom. 5<sup>1-5</sup>, Gell. vii 7<sup>5-8</sup>, Macr. i 10<sup>11-17</sup>. Warde Fowler p275-6, A.H.Krappe Acca Larentia AJA xlvii 1942 p490, Radke Larentia, Tabeling op. cit. ch4, and Latte p92, who thinks that Decimus Brutus' parentatio was not very early.
192. Tabeling op. cit. He is criticised by E.Linkomies in Gnom. xii 1936 p415.
193. So Radke Larunda & review cit., and cf U.Pestalozza Mater Larum e Acca Larentia Rend. R. Ist. Lomb. lxvi 1933 p905, who regards all these goddesses as versions of mother earth.
194. Connection disputed by Pestalozza op. cit., Radke Larunda and Latte p93 because of the difference in quantity between the syllables Lār - in the names of goddesses and Lār in Lares.
195. Serv. Aen. v 64, vi 152 - omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur, unde ortum est ut lares colerentur in domibus; unde etiam umbras laruas uocamus a laribus, Isid. Etym. xv 11<sup>1</sup>. For the modern view that this cannot have been so see above pl5.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 196 - CHAPTER TWO 208

196. Guarducci op. cit. and Weinstock op. cit. ; a more cautious interpretation is found in R.Schilling lecture Fouilles récentes de Lavinium REL xxxviii 1960 p75.
197. Plaut. Merc. 834.
198. CIL iii 754<sup>14</sup>.
199. Pliny NH xxxviii 27, and see Chapter Three p55.
200. So Onians pl58 n 5.
201. Varro in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41.
202. Apul. De Plat. i 12<sup>206</sup>, Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>2</sup> - (Granius Flaccus & others) Lar = Genius, Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12-14</sup>, Epit. Diu. inst. 28, Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 42 - in numeris caelitem, St. Aug. CD vii 6 following Varro.
203. Apul. De deo Soc. 15<sup>152-3</sup>, St. Aug. CD ix 11, Serv. Aen. iii 302, Mart. Cap. ii 155 & 162.
204. Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>3-4</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Macr. i 7<sup>34</sup> - games at the compita restored by Tarquinius Superbus. Warde Fowler Religious experience ch4 views it as the oldest type of Lar cult.
205. As expressed by eg Holland Janus and the bridge ch 18.
206. For the evidence see above pl5 with n 15, in spite of the ancient evidence to the contrary noted in n 195.
207. Coins of the gens Caesia : Sydenham p76; Cata. 10<sup>20-25</sup> where 2 Semitales are the Dioscuri, Ovid F ii 615-6 - Lara and the twin Lares, and eg CIL xiv 4298 on an altar. See also De Marchi, Waites op. cit., Bömer on Ovid F v 140, Radke Lares.
208. Eg Plautus varies between singular at Merc. 834, 836, Mil. glor. 1339, Aul. 1ff & 386, Trin. 39, and plural at Stich. 534, Merc. 865, Cist. 522, Rud. 1207; Cicero between singular at Phil. ii 30<sup>75</sup>, Verr. iii 27 & 125, and plural at De leg. ii 42, De dom. 108 & 143, Pro Quinct. 85; Horace between singular at Sat. ii 5<sup>14</sup> & 6<sup>66</sup>, and plural at Sat. i 5<sup>66</sup>, Sat. ii 3<sup>164-5</sup>, Epod. 2<sup>66</sup>, Od. iii 23<sup>4</sup>, iv 5<sup>34</sup>; Pliny between singular at NH xxxvi 204 referring to Servius Tullius, & NH xxxviii 27, and plural at NH xxxviii 267.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 209 - CHAPTER TWO 219

209. The single Lar in Augustan & later literature tends to be a mere metaphor, except at Verg. G iii 344, Aen. v 744, viii 543, ix 259 - all legendary references; Apul. De deo Soc. 15<sup>152</sup>, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>.
210. Laing op. cit.
211. Latte p94, and see Chapter Eight pp210-1.
212. H.G.Kolbe Lare Aineia? Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Rom. Abt. (Röm. Mitt.) lxxvii 1970 pl; also Schilling op.cit.
213. D-S Lares.
214. See H.J.Rose on X.M.F.G.Wolters Notes on antique folklore on the basis of Pliny's Natural History Bk xxxviii 22-29 1935 in Gnom.xii 1936 p389.
215. Laing op. cit.
216. Plaut. Aul. 3-7, Merc. 834-5, Ennius in Charis. Art. Gram. iv p267<sup>12-14B</sup> - Lares, tectum nostrum qui funditus curant, Nigidius in Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41, Cic. Pro Quinct. 85, Sen. Phoen. 344-5, Apul. De deo Soc. 15<sup>152</sup>, Tert. Apol. 13<sup>4</sup>, Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12</sup>, Auson. Technop. 8<sup>9</sup> (de dis) - = Genius domuum, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup>, Serv. Aen. vi 152, Mart. Cap. ii 162, GL (Abstrusa) LA 26 - Lar: domus. Hence their epithets: casanici: CIL ix 725 = ILS 3608; domestici: Tert. Apol. 13<sup>4</sup>, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7</sup>, CIL iii 4160 = ILS 3607 (Pann.).
217. Cic. De leg. ii 27, Verr. iii 27 & 125, Tib. i 1<sup>19-20</sup>, Hor. Od. i 12<sup>42-44</sup>, Epod. 16<sup>19-20</sup>, Sat. i 2<sup>56</sup>, ii 5<sup>12-14</sup>, Epist. ii 2<sup>50-51</sup>.
218. Laber. fr. 110 (CRF Ribbeck), Cat. 31<sup>9</sup>, Verg. G iv 43, Hor. Od. iii 29<sup>14</sup>, Epist. i 1<sup>13</sup>, 7<sup>58</sup>, ii 2<sup>51</sup>, Tib. i 7<sup>58</sup>, Prop. iv 1<sup>128</sup>, 8<sup>50</sup>, 10<sup>18</sup>, Ovid F i 136, iii 242, vi 95, Pont. i 1<sup>10</sup>, Trist. i 3<sup>30</sup>, Pers. 5<sup>109</sup>, Sall. Cat. 20<sup>11</sup>, Quint. Decl. 260, Lucan v 528, vii 394, Val. Flacc. iv 45, Stat. Silu. ii 3<sup>16</sup>, iv 8<sup>23</sup>, Sil. Ital. vii 173, Sen. Med. 21, Phoen. 511, Phaed. 863, Mart. i 70<sup>2</sup>, v 42<sup>2</sup>, ix 18<sup>2</sup>, x 61<sup>5</sup>, xi 82<sup>2</sup>, Juv. 3<sup>110</sup>, 8<sup>14</sup>, 14<sup>20</sup>, 15<sup>153</sup>, Apul. Met. i 8, ix 26 & 31, Apol. 55, Symmach. Ep. vii 19, Claud. Gigant. 86, Macr. ii 7<sup>3</sup>, CIL viii 11824 (Africa).
219. Plaut. Aul. 13-14 - the Lar guards the treasure under the hearth, Aul. 386, Cato De agr. 5<sup>3</sup>, 143<sup>2</sup>, Cic. Phil. ii 75, Verg. Aen. v 743-4, viii 542-3, Ovid Trist. i 3<sup>43-44</sup> - Lares by the foci, Val. Max ii 4<sup>5</sup>, Mart. iii 58<sup>22-23</sup>, Colum. xi 1<sup>19</sup>, Pliny NH xxxviii 267 - focus Larum, Non. p352L, Hist. Aug. Pert. 14<sup>3</sup>, Serv. Aen. iii 134 - foci = Lares/Penates.

## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 220 - CHAPTER TWO 235

220. Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup> (AD 392).
221. Hor. Sat. ii 6<sup>65-67</sup> - antè Larem proprium uescor, Petr. 60 - duo Lares bullatos super mensam posuerunt. See also Chapter Three pp 54 & 75.
222. Patrii : Hor. Epod. 16<sup>19</sup>, Prop. ii 30<sup>22</sup>. Paterni: Hor. Od. ii 18<sup>26-27</sup>, Epist. ii 2<sup>50-51</sup>, Juv. 12<sup>89</sup>. Antiqui: Ovid Trist. iv 8<sup>22</sup>, Tib. i 3<sup>34</sup>, ii 1<sup>60</sup>.
223. Patellarii: Plaut. Cist. 522. Hospitales: Cic. Verr. iv 48, Tac. A xv 52.
224. Cic. De dom. 108 & 143, Verg. G iii 344, Ovid F iv 802 - transferri iussos in noua tecta Lares, Tib. ii 5<sup>42</sup> - (Aeneas') errantes ... Lares; cf Verg. Aen. ii 717.
225. Plaut. Merc. 836 - persequar alium Larem.
226. Plaut. Merc. 834-5 & Mil. glor. 1339 - leaving, Merc. 864-5 - leaving on a journey and addressing them as Lares Viales, Rud. 1206-8 & Stich. 534 - entering, Cato De agr. 2<sup>1</sup> - paterfamilias arriving at his villa, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup> - entering & leaving, CIL ix 725 = IIS 3608 - ob redit. Rectinae n.
227. See Chapter Seven ppl93 & 195.
228. Ovid Trist. iv 8<sup>21-22</sup> - miles ... // ponit ad antiquos, quae tulit, arma Lares.
229. Scott Ryberg ch2.
230. Probably 3rd century BC: H.B.Walters Catalogue of the bronzes, Greek Roman and Etruscan...in the...British Museum London 1899 pl57.
231. De Marchi chl(1), Waites op. cit.
232. Although these are probably Lares Compitales: see Bulard PMM ch3 & RD ch5-6.
233. Maiuri.
234. See Boyce index Lares, Paintings (subjects) & Statuettes.
235. G.Behrens Zwei Laren-Statuetten aus Bronze Germania i 1917 p68 - in Mainz, but from north Italy or south Gaul or Illyria; FA 1950 no5396 report on finds in Niederbayern, Germany; FA 1953 no 3721 M.Botter Treviso. Ritrovamenti vari NSc 1952 p201; FA 1955 no 6359 J.Keim Ausgrabungen und Funde von Straubing und Umgebung (Niederbayern)



## NOTES : CHAPTER TWO 235 contd. - CHAPTER TWO 245

- 235 contd. Römerzeit Jahresbericht Hist. Ver. Straub. lvii 1954 pl0; FA 1956 no 4668 report on finds at Cosenza, Bruttium; FA 1965 (1969) no4231 E.B.Thomas Lar angusti clauis Folia Archaeologica xv 1963 p21 - fine bronze Lar from Nagydém prob. imported; FA 1965 no5136 report on excavations at Kenitra, Morocco; M.Amand Nouveaux aspects de la romanisation en Pévèle belge Homm. à A.Grenier i Bruxelles-Berchem 1962 pl04. British Museum, Louvre, Musée de Vienne, etc., etc.
236. In the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Bronzi, illustrated in F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 pl48, and described in W.Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Tübingen 1963 ii p382 no1579.
237. Illustrations in eg De Marchi, D-S iii p943ff, W.Lamb Greek and Roman bronzes London 1929 plate 85, K.Meuli Altromischer Maskenbrauch MH xii 1955 p230ff. Succincti at Ovid F ii 634, Pers. 5<sup>31</sup> & Schol.
238. But only once at Pompeii: Boyce 174 = VI 9<sup>2</sup>.
239. Situla more common than patera on Pompeian paintings.
240. Eg 5 out of 23 statuettes found by 1937 at Pompeii have cornucopia and patera. But 1 of 2 paintings of a Lar at Ostia shows a stationary figure with a patera. Probably not an older type as Lamb op.cit. p217 thinks.
241. Boyce 129 = V 4<sup>w2</sup>, B463 = IX 9<sup>11</sup> but this may show one Lar and one Bacchante.
242. Eg the actual pair in Behrens op. cit.
243. Petr. 29; CIL x 6 & xiv 4293 refer to silver Lares which did not belong to a household. One statuette base inlaid with silver was found at Pompeii.
244. Tib. i 10<sup>17-20</sup>.
245. See eg Walters op. cit. p254.

NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 1 - CHAPTER THREE 17

1. Eg. Verg. Aen. v 743-5, Serv. Aen. i 704, iii 134 - nec licere uel priuata uel publica sacra sine foco fieri.
2. Eg. Mart. iii 58<sup>23</sup> - good, Hist. Aug. Pert. 14<sup>3</sup> - fire going out during a sacrifice to the Lares is a presage of death. Chapter Two pl3.
3. Chapter Two pl9.
4. Plut. QR 75, Quaest. con. vii 4.
5. Prop. iv 3<sup>60</sup>, Juv. 12<sup>92</sup>, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup> - cereis uenerans ac lucernis, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>.
6. Cic. De off. iii 80, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup>, D-S Candela.
7. Varro LL v 119, Fest. p40L, D-S Candelabrum.
8. Fest. p47L. And see Chapter Five pl30.
9. Varro LL v119, Juv. 12<sup>92</sup>, Tert. Apol. 35, Ad uxor. ii 6, De idol. 15<sup>4</sup> & 15<sup>10</sup>, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup>, De Marchi ch2(3), D-S and FW Lucerna, Boyce index Lamps.
- 10: CIL ii 2102 (Baet.), vi 10248.
11. Prop. iv 3<sup>60</sup> - at the Compitalia, Petr. 74 - to avert a bad omen.
12. Verg. G i 391-2 & Apul. Met. ii 11 - bad weather.
13. Fax: Plaut. Cas. 118, Ter. Adel. 906, Cat. 61<sup>77</sup>, Cic. Pro Cluent. 15, Verg. E 8<sup>29</sup>, Ovid F ii 561, Her. 6<sup>42</sup>, Prop. iv 3<sup>13</sup>, iv 11<sup>33</sup>, 11<sup>46</sup>, Lucan ii 356, Sen. Contr. vii 21<sup>9</sup>, Mart. xii 42<sup>3</sup>, Quint. Declam. 291, Tac. A xv 37, Fest. p77L, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup>, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 202. Taeda: Ovid Met. iv 758, Sen. Oct. 695, Mart. iii 93<sup>26</sup>, Stat. Silu. ii 7<sup>32</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 26, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 347.
14. See Chapter Six pl64.
15. Fax: Verg. Aen. vii 337, xi 143, Ovid F ii 562, Her. 2<sup>120</sup>, 6<sup>42</sup>, Prop. iv 3<sup>14</sup>, 11<sup>46</sup>, Sen. De breu. uit. 20<sup>5</sup>, De tranq. an. 11<sup>7</sup>, Epist. 122<sup>10</sup>, Pers. 3<sup>103</sup>, Mart. viii 43<sup>2</sup>, Tac. A iii 4, Serv. Aen. i727 vi 224, xi 143.
16. Rose RGR pl95. But the application of fire to the corpse was to free all the stuff of life from it: Onians p263.
17. Pers. 3<sup>103</sup>, Sen. De breu. uit. 20<sup>5</sup>, De tranq. an. 11<sup>7</sup>, Epist. 122<sup>10</sup>, Serv. Aen. vi 224, xi 143.

NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 18 - CHAPTER THREE 34

18. Wagenvoort chl. Cic. Verr. II iv 5 - arulae.
19. Verg. Aen. iii 304-5, Hor. Od. i 19<sup>13</sup>, iii 8<sup>4</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 4<sup>131</sup>.
20. Eg Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>6-7</sup>.
21. Bulard DRP ch2.
22. Boyce intro. and index Altars.
23. Olga Elia Culti familiari e privati della Campania: arulae fittili pompeiane Homm. A. Grenier ii Bruxelles-Berchem 1962 p559.
24. In the museum.
25. Bulard RD chl1, PMM ch4.
26. H.V.Herrmann Omphalos Münster 1959 shows interestingly that the Greek omphalos was really an offering-point for the dead or for chthonic deities. It became a sort of equivalent for the altar and was used in conjunction with any gods. De Marchi chl(3) sees it as a phallic symbol.
27. A.Maiuri Di un singolare emblema sacro in una bottega pompeiana Homm. J. Bidez & F. Cumont Bruxelles (1949) pl85.
28. Naev. BP fr. 25(3), Cic. De har. resp. 57, Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>32</sup> - chaste, Plut. QR 64, Quaest. con. vii 4<sup>7</sup>, Sil. Ital. vii 182-3 - unpolluted by blood (ie meat), Val. Max. ii 1<sup>8</sup>, Petr. 60, Arnob. ii 67, Macr. iii 11<sup>6</sup>, Erasmus Coll. (Berne 1709) pl15. De Marchi ch2(3), FW Mensa.
29. Verg. G iv 378-9, Hor. Sat. ii 6<sup>65-66</sup>, Ovid F vi 305-6, Sil. Ital. vii 176, Colum. xi 1<sup>19</sup>. Boyce index Tables - only 3 found in conjunction with shrines at Pompeii. Cf Paul-Fest. pl49L - table instead of altar, Plut. Sept. sap. con. 15 - table is altar of gods of friendship and hospitality.
30. Verg. Aen. i 736, viii 279, Serv. Aen. viii 279, Macr. iii 11<sup>3&5</sup>.
31. Val. Max. ix 2<sup>2</sup>, Tac. A xiii 17, xv 52.
32. Sen. De ira i 19<sup>4</sup>. S. Eitrem Miscellanea CR xxxv 1921 p20.
33. Plut. QR 64, Quaest. con. vii 4. Rose RGR pl177.
34. Petr. 64.

NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 35 - CHAPTER THREE 46

35. Pliny NH xxviii 28.
36. Tert. De anima 39. PW Mensa, Latte p95&375.
37. See D-S Mensa for a description of different kinds of tables.
38. Ovid F vi 306, Plut. Sept. sap. con. 15, Pliny NH xxviii 27, Athen. Deipn. v 192b, Macr. iii 11<sup>6</sup>.
39. Eg Sil. Ital. vii 177-81, Juv. 14<sup>59-62</sup>.
40. Cic. Verr. II iv 48, also Petr. 62 - therefore you can't dine with a werewolf!, Quint. Declam. 301 - favours asked per ius mensae communis, and it would be terrible to assault any in the household.
41. Sen. Epist. i 12<sup>8</sup> - funeral, Pers. 4<sup>30-31</sup> - poor feast at Compitalia, Colum. xi 1<sup>19</sup> - festive days, Juv. 5<sup>85</sup> - funeral, 11<sup>82-85</sup> - festis diebus and birthdays, Lyd. De mens. iii 22 - Saturnalia and Matronalia, Solin. i 35 - Matronalia, Auson. Epist. 5<sup>49-50</sup> - birthday and wedding, Macr. i 11<sup>22-23</sup> - Saturnalia. Bulard RD ch2 - Compitalia, H.Seyrig Sur une mosaïque récemment découverte à El-Djem Comptes rendus Ac. Inscr. & Belles-lettres 1955 p521 - Saturnalia? Cf also the dinners with which noble families entertained each other at the Megalensia on 4 April: CIL i<sup>2</sup> p235 Fasti Praen., Ovid F iv 353-6, Gell. ii 24<sup>2</sup> (161BC), xviii 2<sup>11</sup>. Warde Fowler p69, Balsdon LL ch3.
42. Ovid F vi 306, Hor. Sat. ii 6<sup>65-67</sup>, Tib. i 1<sup>37</sup>, Pliny NH xxviii 27 - qui omnibus negotiis horisque interesse credebant deos, Plut. Sept. sap. con. 15, Quint. Declam. 301 - invoking gods on approaching table, Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>60</sup>, Tac. A xv 52 - di hospitales, cf Prudent. Cathem. 3<sup>11-17</sup> - Christ at table, Arnob. ii 67.
43. Petr. 60 - Lares, Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>32-33</sup> - Hercules.
44. Arnob. iii 25 - Victa and Potua, Firm. Mat. De errore 14<sup>1</sup>. Radke Victa, Potua.
45. For superstitions see Deonna-Renard, who however base their remarks very heavily on Petronius.
46. Petr. 74, also Cic. In Pis. 67 - cock crowing, Sen. Epist. 47<sup>3</sup> - attendant slaves forced to be silent to avert any omen, Petr. 54 - death of attendant slave!, Pliny NH xxviii 26 - mention of fire, sneeze, 27 - sudden silence.



## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 47 - CHAPTER THREE 61

47. Plaut. Stich. 485-9, Varro in Aul. Gell. xiii 11<sup>2</sup>.
48. Hor. Od. iii 19<sup>11-17</sup>.
49. Lucr. iii 914-5 - present joys are brief, Cic. In Pis. 22 - fear of wheel of fortune, Petr. 26 - time passing, 34 - silver skeleton, 78 - conducting own funeral, Sen. Epist. i 12<sup>8</sup> - conducting own funeral, Sil. Ital. xi 51-4 - one-time custom to have blood sports, Suet. Cal. 32<sup>3</sup> - thoughts of cruel deaths, Nero 31<sup>2</sup> - diningroom turning like world.
50. Pliny NH xxviii 27, Athen Deipn. x 427e - food dropped from table was for dead friends. See Chapter Two pp37 & 41.
51. Pliny NH xxviii 26.
52. Deonna-Renard ch5, M. Renard L'asarotos oikos de Sosos (Pliny NH xxxvi 184) en rapport avec les mosaïques romaines du genre REL xxxiii 1955 p57.
53. Pliny NH xxxvi 184, Stat. Silu. i 3<sup>55-56</sup>, Sid. Apoll. Carm. 23<sup>57-58</sup>, and six archeological finds.
54. Hor. Od. iii 19<sup>22</sup> - sparge rosas, Suet. Nero 31<sup>2</sup> - perfume.
55. Misunderstood as = patella by Schols. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>14</sup>. De Marchi ch2(3), D-S & PW Salinum.
56. Cat. 23<sup>19</sup>, Cic. Verr. II iv 47 - valued esp. by women, Verg. Aen. ii 717, Livy xxvi 36<sup>6</sup>, Pers. 3<sup>25</sup> & Schol., Fest. p463L - terrible to mishandle it, witness the legend of the potter who was burnt.
57. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>13-14</sup>, also Cic. Verr. II iv 47, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>3</sup>, Sen. De tranq. an. 1<sup>7</sup>.
58. Livy xxvi 36<sup>6</sup>, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>3</sup>, Sen. De tranq. an. 1<sup>7</sup>, Pliny NH xxxiii 153; but a shell at Hor. Sat. i 3<sup>14</sup>.
59. Naev. fr. 25(3), Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>14</sup>, Fest. p440L & p463L, Arnob. ii 67 - sacras facitis mensas salinorum adpositu ...?
60. Verg. Aen. ii 717, Livy xxvi 36<sup>6</sup>, Ovid F vi 310, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>3</sup>, Pers. 3<sup>25-26</sup> & Schol., Pliny NH xxxiii 153, CIL ix 725 = ILS 3608, CIL vi 12282. De Marchi ch2(3), D-S Patera & Patella, Latte p90 n2.
61. Varro LL v 122, Macr. v 21<sup>4</sup>.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 62 - CHAPTER THREE 77

62. Plaut. Amph. 260 & 760 - gold, Cic. Verr. II iv 46 - silver, cum sigillis ac simulacris deorum, 48, Verg. G ii 192 - gold, Aen. i 728-9 - grauem gemmis auroque, Livy xxvi 36<sup>6</sup> - silver, Hor. Sat. i 6<sup>118</sup> & Schol. - Campanian bronze, Tib. i 1<sup>38</sup> - pottery, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>3</sup> - silver with horn stand, Sen. De tranq. an. 1<sup>7</sup> - silver, Pliny NH xxxiii 153 - silver, Mart. xiv 114 - red pottery-ware from Cumae, Juv. 6<sup>344</sup> - pottery, Paul.-Fest. p293L - uasula parua picata.
63. Boyce index Paintings (miscellaneous objects).
64. Cic. Verr. II iv 47, Sen. De tranq. an. 1<sup>7</sup>, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>3</sup>.
65. Varro LL v 122, Plaut. Amph. 260-1, 760. At several places there is no indication of the use to which it was put: Cic. Verr. II iv 48, Hor. Sat. i 6<sup>118</sup>, Ovid Met. xiii 704, Macr. v 21<sup>4</sup>.
66. Hor. Od. i 31<sup>2-3</sup>, iv 5<sup>34</sup>, Verg. G ii 192, Aen. i 729, Ovid Met. ix 160, F iv 934 - rites for Robigo, Petr. 60. Bulard RD chl.
67. Cic. Brut. 43, Sall. Cat. 22<sup>1</sup>.
68. Hor. Epist. i 5<sup>2</sup>, Mart. v 78<sup>7</sup>, Juv. 5<sup>85</sup>. There is no indication of usage at Mart. xiv 114.
69. Varro Sat. Men. (Riese) p158 = Non. p872L, Cic. Verr. II iv 48, De fin. ii 22, Ovid F ii 634, vi 310, Tib. i 1<sup>38</sup>, Pers. 3<sup>26</sup> & Schol., Paul.-Fest. p293L, Schols. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>14</sup>. There is no indication of particular usage, though it is evidently religious, at: Livy xxvi 36<sup>6</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>344</sup>.
70. Cic. De fin. ii 22.
71. Plaut. Cist. 522.
72. Pliny NH xvi 185 - a beech-wood one, quo sacrificaret; for secular use at Hor. Sat. i 6<sup>118</sup> & Schol., Juv. 3<sup>263</sup>. De Marchi ch2(3), D-S Guttus.
73. Cato De agr. 10 & 11 - for secular use, CIL ix 725 = ILS 3608. D-S Vrceus.
74. Mart. ii 35 - a joke on the horn shape. D-S & EAA Rhyton.
75. Bulard DRP. See also Chapter Two p44.
76. D-S Situla.
77. Plaut. Amph. 671, Cato De agr. 10 & 11.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 78 - CHAPTER THREE 99

78. Verg. Aen. v 745, Hor. Od. iii 8<sup>2</sup> & Schol., Ovid F iv 934 - public rites for Robigo, Ex Ponto iv 8<sup>39-40</sup>, Met. viii 266, xiii 703, Pers. 2<sup>5</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 4<sup>127</sup>, Fest. pl7L - arculam ... turariam, Serv. Aen. v 745. De Marchi ch2(3), D-S & PW Acerra.
79. Suet. Tib. 44, Galba 8.
80. Cic. De leg. ii 60, Fest. pl7L.
81. Cic. Verr. II iv 48, Verg. Aen. iv 453 - turicremis ... aris(?), Val. Max. iii 3<sup>1</sup>. De Marchi ch2(3), Bulard RD chl4, D-S Turibulum.
82. Hor. Sat. i 9<sup>73-74</sup>, Ovid F i 348, Sen. Thyest. 688, Juv. 12<sup>84</sup>, De Marchi ch2(3), Bulard RD ch2 - Compitalia, D-S & PW Culter; illustrations in Bulard DRP. Mallet also: Suet. Cal. 32<sup>3</sup>.
83. Bulard DRP chl, PMM chl.
84. Boyce index Position of Lararium.
85. In view of the sacredness of the door: see Chapter Two ppl6-17. Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12</sup>, Jerome In Esai. xvi 57<sup>7-8</sup>.
86. Three examples of a position in the lavatory at Pompeii. Bedroom at Suet. Aug. 7<sup>1</sup>, Dom. 17<sup>2</sup>.
87. Maiuri.
88. Eg two at Hist. Aug. Alex. Seu. 31<sup>4</sup>.
89. Reg. Ix4 = Boyce 48.
90. Bulard DRP chl & 2.
91. But Sychaeus' marble templum in Dido's palace: Verg. Aen. iv 457-8.
92. Prop. iv 3<sup>53-54</sup>.
93. Petr. 29, Juv. 8<sup>111</sup>, CIL ii 1980 (Baet.), ix 2996.
94. Tib. i 10<sup>20</sup>, CIL i 1305/ix 4053 - aed., vi 440, x 8067<sup>12</sup> - aed.
95. Hist. Aug. M. Ant. phil. 3<sup>5</sup>, Hist. Aug. Alex. Seu. 29<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>4-5</sup>.
96. Cic. Verr. II iv 4 & 18, Ad fam. xiii 2, Lact. Epit. diu inst. 28, CIL xi 2096.
97. Prop. iv 3<sup>57</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p421L - loca dis sacrata sine tecto, CIL iii 4160 (Pannonia) - sac.
98. F. di Capua Sacrari Pompeiani in Pompeiana. Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei Napoli 1950 p60.
99. Bulard DRP ch3 & RD.

NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 100 - CHAPTER THREE 122

100. See J.-M. Croisille Les natures mortes campaniennes Bruxelles-Berchem 1965.
101. On snakes in general see R.& D.Morris Men and snakes London 1965.
102. See M.Leglay Le serpent dans les cultes africains Homm. Deonna Bruxelles 1957 p338.
103. Eg. Pliny NH xxix 67, Suet. Nero 6<sup>4</sup> - an amulet.
104. Cic. De diu. i 36, Plut. Tib. & C.Gracc. 1<sup>2-3</sup>, Pliny NH vii 122; also Ter. Phorm. 707.
105. Cic. De diu. i 79. Alexander begotten by a snake: Livy xxvi 19<sup>6-7</sup>, Lucian Dial. Mort. 13<sup>390</sup>, Plut. Alex. 2<sup>4</sup>. Scipio likewise: Aul. Gell. vi 1<sup>3-4</sup>.
106. Macr. i 12<sup>24</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>.
107. Ovid Met. xv 389-390, Pliny NH x 188, Plut. Ag. & Cleom. 60(39), Ael. NA i 51, Serv. Aen. v 95 - Pythagoras' opinion also.
108. Onians ppl74-196.
109. In addition to the evidence quoted in n 105: Plut. Tib. & C.Gracc. 1<sup>2</sup>, Suet. Nero 6<sup>4</sup>, Tac. A xi 11.
110. For the Genius see also Chapter Four pp92-94 and Chapter Five ppl08-112.
111. D-S ii pl491.
112. Boyce index Paintings(subjects) & Serpents.
113. G.K.Boyce Significance of the serpents on Pompeian house shrines AJA xlvii 1942 pl3.
114. Verg. Aen. v 84-96 - at Anchises' tomb, Serv. Aen. v 85 & 95.
115. Eg Pers. 1<sup>112-4</sup>, Serv. Aen. v 85.
116. CIL iv 844 = Boyce 269.
117. CIL iv 1644 = Boyce 294.
118. CIL iv 3832 = Boyce 442.
119. M.P.Nilsson Greek Folk religion Columbia 1940 pp65-33.
120. Tac. A xi 11, Suet. Nero 6<sup>4</sup>.
121. Nilsson op.cit. & Rose RGR pp34-35.
122. Pliny NH xxix 67.



NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 123 - CHAPTER THREE 138

123. Mart. vii 87<sup>7</sup> and Sen. De ira ii 31<sup>6</sup>.
124. Suet. Tib. 72 and Hist. Aug. Elag. 23<sup>2</sup>.
125. Pliny NH xxix 72.
126. Boyce index Serpents.
127. Onians p233.
128. Bulard DRP no. 16.
129. See eg Chapter Two p17. Also Plaut. Aul. 385-6 - coronas on the hearth for the Lar, Verg. Aen. iv 457-9 - greenery (and fleeces) on shrine, Juv. 12<sup>84-5</sup> - on shrine & hearth, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup> - serta suspendat. Laurel was especially important: M.B.Ogle Laurel in ancient religion and folklore AJPh xxxi 1910 p287.
130. See above pp60, 63-64.
131. Latte p375.
132. Hor. Epod. 2<sup>66</sup> - renidentis Lares, Juv. 12<sup>88</sup> - fragili simulacra nitentia cera, Prud. C. Symm. i 203-4 - saxa inlita ceris // uiderat unguentoque Lares umescere nigros. Onians p282.
133. Plaut. Men. 101, Hor. Od. iii 23<sup>4</sup> - frux, Ovid F i 337-8, Tib. i 10<sup>21</sup> - grapes, i 10<sup>22</sup> - flowers, 10<sup>24</sup> - honeycomb, Prop. iv 3<sup>57</sup> - flowers, Pliny NH xviii 7, Juv. 12<sup>90</sup> - uiolae. Latte pp377-8.
134. Plut. Quaest. con. v 10, Macr. vii 12<sup>2</sup> & 5, Schols. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>14</sup>. See Nilsson.
135. As Porph. & Pseudacr. and other Schols. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>14</sup> - primitiae dis cum sale dantur.
136. Pliny NH xviii 61-62, 83, Paul.-Fest. p3L. PW Spelt, L.A.Moritz Grain-mills and flour in classical antiquity Oxford 1958 intro. & ch4.
137. Hence the antique pistores: Varro in Non. p223L, Isid Etym. iv 11<sup>6</sup>.
138. Mola salsa: Plaut. Amph. 740, Verg. E 8<sup>82</sup>, Aen. iv 517, v 745, Hor. Od. iii 23<sup>20</sup>, Tib. i 5<sup>14</sup>, iii 4<sup>10</sup>, Ovid F i 337-8, Pers. 3<sup>25</sup> & Schol., 4<sup>31</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 4<sup>131</sup>, Pliny NH xviii 7 - from Numa's time, xviii 83, Mart. vii 54<sup>5</sup>, Juv. 9<sup>138</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p82L - farris torrendi at Fornacalia (see also Warde Fowler p302), p97L & p124L, Prud. C.Symm. i 203, Serv. E 8<sup>82</sup>. PW Mola Salsa.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 138 contd. - CHAPTER THREE 148

- 138 contd. Puls: Ovid F vi 169-171 - mixed with beans & lard for the Carnaria, Pliny NH xviii 84 - for sacraprisca and birthdays, Macr. i 12<sup>33</sup> - Carnaria, Non. p341M - Carnaria.  
Libum: Verg. Aen. vii 109, Dion. Hal. iv 2 & 14<sup>3</sup>, Tib. i 10<sup>23</sup>, Pliny NH xviii 10 - at weddings (by confarreatio), Juv. 16<sup>39</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p65L & p78L and Serv. G i 31 - at weddings (by confarreatio).
139. Victim: Cic. De diu. ii 37 - wine also. Verg. Aen. ii 133, Paul.-Fest. p97L & pl24L, Serv. Aen. ii 133, iv 17. Knife: Sen. Thyest. 688, Juv. 12<sup>84</sup>, Serv. Aen. ii 133. Altar: Serv. Aen. ii 133.
140. Serv. Aen. iv 17 - hostiae ... mola salsa tactae, Aen. x 541. Ernout-Meillet.
141. Ovid F ii 23-24.
142. Serv. E 8<sup>82</sup> - Lupercalia, Vestalia, Idus Sept. Warde Fowler pl10 & 149.
143. Verg. E 8<sup>65</sup> - uerbenas, Ovid F i 343 - herbis Sabinis in the old days, Prop. iv 3<sup>58</sup> - herba Sabina at the Compitalia, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup> - odore.
144. Land of the Sabaei: Verg. G i 57, Pliny NH xii 52, Val. Flacc. vi 138, Claud. De III cons. Hon. 71, Epith. de nupt. Hon. 210; Ovid F i 337-344 - partly ousting mola salsa.
145. Plaut. Amph. 740, Aul. 24, Cic. Verr. II iv 77, De off. iii 80, Verg. E 8<sup>65</sup>, Aen. iv 453, v 745, xi 481, Hor. Od. i 30<sup>3</sup>, iii 8<sup>2</sup>, 23<sup>3</sup>, Tib. i 3<sup>34</sup> - menstrua tura Lari, i 7<sup>53</sup>, ii 2<sup>3</sup>, iv 5<sup>9</sup>, iv 6 - birthday, Prop. iii 10<sup>19</sup> - birthday, Ovid Met. i 248-9, iv 159, viii 266, Trist. i 2<sup>104</sup>, v 5<sup>11</sup>, Pont. ii 1<sup>32</sup>, F ii 631, iv 934, Phaedr. Fab. ii 5, Pers. 5<sup>120</sup>, Juv. 9<sup>137</sup>, 12<sup>90</sup>, Mart. x 24<sup>5</sup> - birthday, Apul. Apol. 63, Tert. Ad uxor. ii 6 - New Year & Kalends, Arnob. vii 32, Anth. Lat. 395<sup>2</sup> - New Year, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>. In the cult of the dead: CIL v 337 viii 21815. D-S Tus.
146. Pliny NH xii 62. Bulard RD chl and the illustrations in DRP.
147. Plaut. Rud. 1208, Hor. Od. iii 17<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>, Sat. ii 3<sup>165</sup>, Tib. i 10<sup>26</sup> - Compitalia, Prop. iv 1<sup>23</sup> - Compitalia, in the old days.
148. Lamb: Plaut. Rud. 1208, Prop. iv 3<sup>61</sup> - Compitalia, Juv. 13<sup>232</sup>, Prud. C.Symm. i 214. Other: Mart. ix 54<sup>11</sup> & 55<sup>1</sup> - poultry at the Cara Cognatio, Juv. 11<sup>85</sup> - hostia, 13<sup>233</sup> - cock. FW Hostia, Latte pp380-1.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 149 - CHAPTER THREE 166

149. Onians p279-282.
150. Examples in Croisille op. cit. especially under Pompeii.
151. Petr. 34; also Plaut. Aul. 24, 385-6, Cic. De diu. ii 37 - on the victim, Prop. iv 3<sup>60</sup> - on to a lamp, Pers. 4<sup>32</sup> - Compitalia, Pliny NH xiv 116 - gives prodigia, Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>13</sup>, Epit. Diu inst. 28, Arnob. ii 32, Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>; cf Sen. Quaest. nat. ii 53<sup>1</sup> - wine can have evil magic powers. Onians pp216-9.
152. Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>144</sup>, Od. iii 17<sup>14</sup>, Tib. ii 2<sup>8</sup>, iv 6<sup>14</sup>, Ovid Trist. v 5<sup>12</sup>, Pers. 2<sup>3</sup>, Censor. De die nat. 2<sup>2</sup>.
153. On pyre: Prop. iv 7<sup>34</sup>, Petr. 65, Stat. Silu. ii 6<sup>93</sup>; but Pliny NH xiv 88 - forbidden by a law of Numa. At tomb: Verg. Aen. v 77 & 101, Ovid F ii 538, Petr. 78, Paul.-Fest. p319<sup>1-2</sup>L.
154. Tert. Apol. vi 4-5, Arnob. ii 67. See also Chapter Six ppl40-1.
155. Cic. ND ii 159, Varro RR ii 5, Pliny NH viii 180.
156. Paul.-Fest. p3<sup>3-5</sup>L - fire & water.
157. Cic. De leg. ii 24 - uel aspersione aquae uel dierum numero.
158. Colum. xii 4<sup>3</sup>.
159. Serv. E 3<sup>76</sup>.
160. Hist. Aug. Alex. Seu. 29<sup>2</sup>.
161. Tert. Apol. 39<sup>18</sup>, Erasmus Coll. (Berne 1709) pl15 - washing is purification. Cf the imperial Roman habit of bathing before dinner. Latte p385.
162. A. Varagnac in preface to Lepage-Medvey National costumes Paris 1939.
163. Mart. iv 66<sup>3</sup>.
164. Bulard RD chl.
165. Lucr. iii 913, Ovid F i 345-6 - wild flowers (violets only if one were rich) in the old days, Plut. Quaest. con. iii 1<sup>3</sup> - crowns of flowers (esp. violets & roses) help against drunkenness, Pliny NH xxi 138 - saffron flowers help against drunkenness, Athen. Deipn. v 192b.
166. Prop. iv 3<sup>54</sup>.

## NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 167 - CHAPTER THREE 175

167. Plaut. Aul. 25, Trin. 39, Hor. Od. iii 23<sup>15-16</sup> - paruos coronantem marino // rore deos, Tib. i 10<sup>22</sup> - spicea sarta, ii 1<sup>59-60</sup>, Pliny NH xxi 11, Juv. 9<sup>138</sup>, 12<sup>87</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p60<sup>20-23</sup>L: all referring to the Lares. Also Arnob. vii 32.
168. Eg Plaut. Aul. 6-8, Cato De agr. 143<sup>2</sup>, Val. Max. ii 4<sup>5</sup>, Juv. 9<sup>138</sup>.
169. Eg Cato De agr. 134<sup>2</sup> - prayer to Janus & Jupiter. Latte pp392-3.
170. First in actual invocation: Cato 134<sup>1-2</sup> - with Jupiter and Juno at sacrifice of porca praecidania, 141<sup>1-2</sup> - with Jupiter before prayer to Mars when lustrating lambs, Livy viii 9<sup>6</sup> - before many gods including Jupiter and Mars. Said to be first: Cic. ND ii 67 - principem in sacrificando Ianum esse uoluerunt, Ovid F i 171-2 - first offering of incense and wine, i 173-4, Mart. viii 8<sup>3</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p45<sup>22-25</sup>L, Aurel. Vict. (inc. auct.) Origo gent. Rom. 3<sup>7</sup>, Arnob. iii 29 - incipiamus ergo sollempniter ab Iano et nos patre, Macr. i 9<sup>3</sup>, i 9<sup>9</sup>, Serv. Aen. vii 610; cf Aug. CD vii 2 - (Varro) list of Janus, Jupiter, Vesta; Warde Fowler p287, Latte pl34, Radke Ianus. But not first at: Verg. Aen xii 195-200 - oath by various things and gods with Janus in the middle, Livy i 32<sup>10</sup> - Jupiter, then Janus and others, Serv. Aen. i 292 - et ipsa (Vesta) et Ianus in omnibus sacrificiis inuocantur; Louise A.Holland Janus and the bridge MAAR 1961 ch6.
171. Cic. ND ii 67 - in ea dea ... omnis et precatio et sacrificatio extrema est; cf Serv. Aen. i 292 - et ipsa et Ianus in omnibus sacrificiis inuocantur; but Ovid F vi 303-4 - precando//praefamur Vestam. In actual invocations: Cic. De domo 144, Varro in St. Aug. CD vii 2 - in a list, Verg. G i 498 - Di Patrii first, Vell. Pat. ii 131<sup>1</sup> - Jupiter first (city gods); cf Juv. 6<sup>385-6</sup> - Janus and Vesta offered far and wine by a woman.
172. Petr. 60 - duo Lares bullatos, also Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>32-33</sup> - Hercules, Arnob. ii 67 - gods.
173. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>13-14</sup>, Arnob. ii 67.
174. Cic. Verr. II iv 48.
175. Varro Sat. Men. pl58 Riese = Non. p372L, Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>1</sup>, Hor. Sat. ii 6<sup>67</sup> - libatis dapibus, Ovid F ii 633-4, vi 310, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>, Petr. 60, Serv. Aen. i 730 - ea quae de cena libata fuerant ad focum ferrentur et in ignem darentur, Porph. Hor. Od. ii 16<sup>13</sup>, Schol. Pers. 3<sup>26</sup>.



NOTES : CHAPTER THREE 176 - CHAPTER THREE 193

176. Serv. Aen. i 730.
177. Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>1</sup> & Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup> - the slave-girl Ocreasia, Petr. 60 - 3 pueri, Serv. Aen. i 730 - puer.
178. Ovid F ii 633-4. F. Bömer Zu den Formen römischen Ahnenglaubens F & F xix 1943 pl91 thinks that it was for the Di Parentes.
179. Ovid F vi 310, Sil.Ital. vii 184-5.
180. Petr. 60, Serv. i 730; cf Tert. Apol. 39<sup>17</sup> & 19 - the Christian grace.
181. Verg. G ii 101 - dis et mensis accepta secundis, ii 192, Aen. i 728-736 - Dido pours a libation and prays to Jupiter during a silence, viii 279, Ovid F vi 630, Petr. 60, Athen Deipn. x 427d, Macr. iii 11<sup>3</sup>.
182. Dio li 19<sup>7</sup>, also Hor. Od. iv 5<sup>31-35</sup>.
183. Ovid F ii 636-8 and Petr. 60.
184. Cic. In Pis. 22 - carried to rowdy extremes, Hor. Od. iii 19<sup>18-20</sup> - tibia, pipe and lyre, Petr. 31 & 36 - attendant slaves sing and work to music at Trimalchio's dinner, Mart. v 78<sup>25-30</sup> - music instead of host's reading and dancing girls, Athen. Deipn. v 192b; cf Tert. Apol. 39<sup>18</sup> - singing to God. Deonna-Renard p98.
185. The limus was somewhat like a long skirt: Serv. Aen xii 120; also Suet. Cal. 32<sup>3</sup> - popa & cultrarius. De Marchi ch2(2).
186. Arnob. vii 32 - loud brass music.
187. Boyce index Assistants (Tibicen), Scott Ryberg ch5-7, 11.
188. Plaut. Aul. 18-22 - ever less and less.
189. Plaut. Aul. 23-25 - filia cottidie, Cic. Verr. II iv 18 - prope cotidiano, Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>13</sup> & Epit. Diu. inst. 28 - 'they' (the Romans) every day, Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 29<sup>2</sup> - every morning if he had not slept with his wife.
190. Tib. i 3<sup>34</sup>, Prop. iv 3<sup>53-54</sup>, Tert. Ad uxor. ii 6.
191. Cato De agr. 143<sup>2</sup>, Mart. iv 66<sup>3</sup>.
192. CIL iv 344, also CIL iv 1539 - ite Lares.
193. CIL iv 6047 - on uasa fictilia, CIL x 8067<sup>12</sup> - on a pondus, CIL xv 6196-8, 6202, 610 - on lamps; a plate inscribed Q. Carminius Optatus Laribus in the British Museum described by H.B.Walters Catalogue of bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan...in the British Museum London 1899 pl69.

NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 1 - CHAPTER FOUR 14

1. D-S & PW Familia, Ernout-Meillet.
2. E. Peruzzi Origini di Roma I La famiglia Firenze 1970 chll.
3. Ulp. Tit. xi 14 = XII Tables 5<sup>3</sup>, xxvi 1 = XII Tables 5<sup>4</sup>, Ulp. in Coll. Mos. et R. xvi 4<sup>2</sup> = XII Tables 5<sup>5</sup>, Gaius Dig. x 2<sup>1</sup> = XII Tables 5<sup>10</sup>, Livy iii 55 & Ogilvie on Livy ii 41<sup>10</sup>.
4. Livy i 7<sup>12</sup> - Potitii & Pinarii & Ogilvie ad loc., ii 49 - Fabii, xxxviii 55<sup>2</sup> - Cornelii, Pliny NH xxxiv 137 - Seruillii, Macr. i 16<sup>7</sup> - Claudii, Aemilii, Iulii & Cornelii.
5. Sall. Jug. 95 - Sulla's family, Livy ix 29 - Appius' family, ix 33 - Appii Claudii, xxx 45<sup>7</sup> - families rivalling Scipio Africanus, xxxviii 58 - Scipio Nasica's family, Tac. A iii 76, xi 7, Suet. Nero 1 - Caluini & Aenobarbi in the gens Domitia, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>25-27</sup>L, p76<sup>27</sup> - 77<sup>2</sup>L - familiae nobilium Pompiliorum, Valeriorum, Corneliorum (along with a completely different meaning), perhaps p284<sup>20-21</sup>L, Serv. Aen. ii 156.
6. Livy ix 29 and Paul.-Fest. p83<sup>25-26</sup>L.
7. Paul.-Fest. p76<sup>27</sup> - 77<sup>2</sup>L, Isid. Etym. ix 4<sup>3-4</sup>, xv 3<sup>1</sup>; cf Cic. De off. i 54.
8. Plaut. Aul. 2-3, Livy xxii 53, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup>L.
9. Cato De agr. 143<sup>1</sup> (probably), Paul.-Fest. p76<sup>27</sup> - 77<sup>2</sup>L, Macr. i 24<sup>22-23</sup>, CIL vi 259 = ILS 3643 and frequently in inscriptions. According to Bömer URS ch2 this was the most common meaning.
10. Gaius Inst. i 55. Peruzzi op. cit. chll.
11. Peruzzi op. cit. chl - the nomen was Sabine, came into use in the time of Numa Pompilius before the existence of the gentes, and chll.
12. Livy i 26<sup>9</sup>, Dion. Hal. iii 22<sup>4</sup>. Peruzzi op. cit. chll.
13. Preservation of sacra: Cic. De leg. ii 22 - sacra priuata perpetua manento, De leg. ii 19, 27 & 47, Verr. II iv 47, ND iii 5, Orat. 144, De off. i 55, Livy i 20<sup>6</sup>; cf Livy v 52, Fest. p146<sup>3-5</sup>L. De Marchi CG ch5. Cf Gell. i 6<sup>6</sup> - (Metellus Numidicus) persuasit ciuitatem saluam esse sine matrimoniorum frequentia non posse.
14. Cat. 61<sup>211-5</sup>; also Plaut. Aul. 147-150, Mil. glor. 703-4, Dion. Hal. ix 22<sup>2-3</sup>, Tib. i 7<sup>55-56</sup>, ii 2<sup>21-22</sup>, Plut. QR 50, Quint. Inst. or. iv 2<sup>42</sup>, Petr. 74, Suet. Caes. 52, Fest. p312<sup>9-14</sup>L; cf Pliny Y Epist. vii 24, Suet. Galba 5<sup>1</sup>, D-S Gens, Balsdon LL ch3.

NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 15 - CHAPTER FOUR 32

15. App. BC i 20 - Scipio.
16. ILS 8393, Laud. Tur. i 41.
17. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>7</sup>, Val. Max. ii 1<sup>4</sup>, Gell. iv 3<sup>2</sup>, xvii 21<sup>44</sup>. The date is given as 235 or 231.
18. Plaut. Mil. glor. 705-7, Phaedr. Fab. ii 5, Petr. 116. Veteran soldiers might allow their families to die out: Tac. A xiv 27.
19. Hor. Epist. i 2<sup>44-45</sup>; also Tib. i 7<sup>55-56</sup>, ii 2<sup>21-22</sup>, Sen. De ben. i 11<sup>4</sup>, Muson. Ruf. 13a (Hense).
20. See Chapter Six pl81.
21. Tac. A iii 25, Plut. De amore prolis Mor. 493 e, Pliny Y Epist. ii 13, vii 16, Suet. Aug. 34<sup>1</sup>, Gaius i 145, Dio liv 16<sup>1</sup>. CAH x chl4(8), Balsdon RW ch9.
22. Livy Per. lix, Suet. Aug. 34<sup>1</sup>. PW Matrimonium, CAH x chl4 (7-8), Balsdon RW chl0(3).
23. Val. Max. vii 7<sup>4</sup>.
24. Gell. x 23<sup>5</sup> (quoting Cato).
25. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>6</sup>, Gell. x 23<sup>4-5</sup>. Balsdon RW chl0(2), Peruzzi op. cit. chl1.
26. Suet. Tib. 35<sup>1</sup>.
27. See Chapter Five ppl20-1.
28. Plut. Rom. 22<sup>3</sup>; also Serv. Aen. iii 139 - uel bene uel male faciendi potestatem dicatam ut ... Cereridiuortia. De Marchi ch3(1), D. Sabbatucci Di alcuni sacrifici romani alla luce del mito di Kore SMSR xxviii 1957 p53, H.Le Bonniec Le culte de Cérès à Rome Paris 1958 ch3(2).
29. Suet. Aug. 34, Mart. v 75, vi 7 & 22. CAH x chl4(5-6).
30. Plut. QR 50, Gell. x 15<sup>22-23</sup>, Tert. De monog. 17, Serv. Aen. iv 29.
31. Marriage outside the woman's own gens involved sacrorum detestio: Peruzzi op. cit. chl1. By Romulus' law confarreatae were to share in all his possessions and sacra: Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>2</sup>; cf Tac. Dial. 28.
32. Cic. Verr. II iv 47.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 33 - CHAPTER FOUR 48

33. Tac. A xiii 32; also Plut. Conj. praec. 19.
34. Prop. iv 1<sup>132</sup>.
35. Sacrorum detestio again: Gell. xv 27<sup>3</sup>. Peruzzi op. cit. chl1.
36. Cic. De domo 34, Livy xlv 41<sup>12</sup> - 2 of Aemilius Paulus' sons given for adoption to the gens Cornelia & the gens Fabia. De Marchi CG ch4, D-S Gens.
37. Gell. v 19<sup>4-6</sup>, Suet. Aug. 65, Just. Inst. i 11<sup>1</sup>, Latte p400.
38. See also Chapter Five pl24.
39. The family of L.Aemilius Paulus, triumphator in 167BC: Livy xlv 40<sup>7-8</sup>, 41<sup>12</sup>, Plut. Aem. Paul. 35; also Sen. De cons. ad Marc. 15<sup>3</sup> - Tiberius lost both his own and his adopted son.
40. Cic. De leg. ii 48-50, Gaius Inst. ii 55, Dig. xi 7<sup>4</sup>, CIL vi 10243, xii 3585 (Gall. Narb.). D-S Gens. This did not always work, hence the formation of clubs and foundations: F.de Visscher Les fondations privées en droit romain classique RIDA ii 1955 pl97.
41. Eg CIL i 1248, 1274, 2135.
42. CIL i 1220 - sibi et sueis et digneis, i 1274 - sibi et suis, i 1401 - for self & freedmen, i 1638 - liberteis meis et libertabus ... et meis omnibus, i 2135 - sibi et illae (freedwoman) et sueis, CIL v 343 - sibi posterisq. suorum, CIL vi 2335 = ILS 1967 - for selves & freedmen, CIL vi 7788 = ILS 8219 - for selves & freedmen, CIL vi 14537 = ILS 8138 - for selves & uerna, CIL x 3147 = ILS 8268 - for selves and freedmen. But Dio lvi 32<sup>4</sup> - Augustus excluded Julia from his tomb. Samter FF ch3, Visscher op. cit.
43. Petr. 72. CIL i 1220.
44. Cic. Pro Sest. 30. Radke Penates.
45. See Chapter Two p22.
46. Ovid F ii 631 - dis generis. The tomb had to be near home to ensure continuing care: Cumont chl(1).
47. ILS 8047 - dis parentium et Genio, Paul.-Fest. p260<sup>7-11</sup>L - mentioned in a law of Servius Tullius.
48. Nepos frag. 1<sup>2</sup>, Ovid Met. iv 164, CIL i 1241 = ILS 7999.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 49 - CHAPTER FOUR 57

49. Cat. 64<sup>404</sup> - not to be defiled, Cic. De leg. ii 22 & 55 - divine, Pro Sest. 144 & Red. in sen. 4<sup>3</sup> & Red. quir 5<sup>11</sup> - Lentulus comparable, Nepos frag. 1<sup>2</sup>, Plut. QR 14, Prud. C.Symm. i 190-3, Ulp. Dig. ii 4<sup>4</sup>, Serv. Aen. v 47, Tert. De cor. 10<sup>2</sup>, Apol. 13<sup>7</sup>. Bömer AA chl, H. Wagenvoort The parentatio in honour of Romulus in Studies in Roman literature, culture and religion Leiden 1956 p290.
50. Tac. A ii 8 - Germanicus to his father Drusus; and cf Wagenvoort op.cit.
51. Polyb. vi 53<sup>4-6</sup>, Cic. In Pis. 1, Pro Sulla 88, Pro Mur. 88, Verr. II v 36, Pro Rab. Post. 16, Verg. Aen. vii 177, Ovid Am. i 8<sup>65</sup>, F i 591, Livy iii 58<sup>2</sup>, Prop. iv 11<sup>29</sup>, Mart. ii 90<sup>6</sup>, iv 40<sup>1</sup> - stemmate toto, v 20<sup>7</sup>, Pliny NH xxxv 6, Sall. Jug. 4<sup>5</sup>, Sen. Epist. 44<sup>5</sup>, Ad Polyb. de cons. 14<sup>3</sup>, De benef. iii 28<sup>2</sup>, Contr. vii 21<sup>10</sup>, Tac. A ii 32, xvi 7, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>1</sup>, v 8<sup>3</sup>, viii 15<sup>1</sup>, Juv. 8<sup>19</sup>, Boeth. Consol. phil. i 1. Bömer AA ch3 interprets them as Etruscan death-masks, A. Boëthius On the ancestral masks of the Romans Acta Arch. xiii 1942 p226 as busts or paintings.
52. Polyb. vi 53<sup>4</sup>, Ovid Am. i 8<sup>65</sup>, F i 591, Mart. ii 90<sup>6</sup>, iv 40<sup>1</sup>, Pliny NH xxxv 6, Sen. Epist. 44<sup>5</sup>, Ad Polyb. de cons. 14<sup>3</sup>, De benef. iii 28<sup>2</sup>, Val. Max. v 8<sup>3</sup>, viii 15<sup>1</sup> - in cella Iouis O.M. instead!, Juv. 8<sup>20</sup>, Suet. Gal. 2.
53. Polyb. vi 53<sup>4</sup>, Cic. Pro Sulla 88, Pliny NH xxxv 6, Sen. Contr. vii 21<sup>10</sup>, Vopisc. Tac.(Flor.) 19(6)<sup>6</sup>.
54. Ovid F i 591-2, Livy iv 16<sup>4</sup> - falsum ... titulum, viii 40<sup>4</sup> - falsisque ... titulis, x 7<sup>11</sup>, xxii 31<sup>11</sup>, Tib. iv 1<sup>28-30</sup> - quid quaque index sub imagine dicat, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>1</sup>, v 8<sup>3</sup>, Pliny NH xxxv 7, Sen. De benef. iii 28<sup>2</sup>, Suet. Gal. 2.
55. Polyb. vi 53<sup>6</sup>, Val. Max. viii 15<sup>1</sup>, Pliny NH xxxv 6, Tac. A ii 32, Amm. Marc. xix 1<sup>10</sup>.
56. Onians pp 131-2, 135-8, and n 49 above. But according to Bömer AA ch3 the imagines were not sacred and had nothing to do with the Di Parentes.
57. Cic. Pro Rab. Post. 16, Sall. Jug. 4<sup>5</sup>, Val. Max. v 8<sup>3</sup>, ILS 6 - (Gn. Cornelius Gn. f. Scipio Hispanus) maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibi me esse creatum // laetentur; stirpem nobilitavit honor; cf Cic. Pro Mur. 88 - imago rejoicing or mourning at actions of descendant.

NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 58 - CHAPTER FOUR 65

58. Cic. Phil. i 13, Ovid F ii 33-34 - ferales ... dies, Plut. QR 34, Macr. i 10<sup>17</sup> - from Larentia's parentatio, Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup> - similar to the Lemuria but later, ILS 8745 Men. rust. Colot. (13 Feb.). Warde Fowler pp306-9, Rose RGR pl96, Bömer AA chl, Latte p98.
59. ILS 8744 Fasti Maff. (21 Feb.); Varro LL vi 13 - ab inferis et ferendo, Varro in Macr. i 4<sup>14</sup> - a ferendis in sepulchra epulis, Ovid F ii 569 - quia iusta ferunt, Paul.-Fest. p75<sup>20-21</sup>L - a ferendis epulis, uel a feriendis pecudibus.
60. No weddings: Ovid F ii 557-562, Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup>. Temples closed: Ovid F ii 563-4. Rose RGR ppl96-7.
61. Varro LL vi 13 - epulas, Varro in Macr. i 4<sup>14</sup> - epulis, Nepos frag. 1<sup>2</sup> - parentabis, Cic. Pro Flacco 95 - flowers, Verg. Aen v 77-78 - wine, milk, blood & flowers, v 96-101 - victims & wine, Ovid F ii 533-540 - wreaths, fruges, mola salsa, wine & violets, Pliny NH xviii18 - beans as containing souls of the dead, Petr. 78 - wine, Suet. Nero 57 - flowers, Paul.-Fest. p75<sup>20-21</sup>L - epulis & pecudibus, p77<sup>24-27</sup>L - beans, p319<sup>1-2</sup>L - wine, Hist. Aug. M. Ant. phil. 3<sup>5</sup> - victims & flowers, ILS 8366 - sacrifices & lamps lit; cf Prop. iv 5<sup>1-2</sup> - a whore's tomb is covered in weeds and her shade goes thirsty.  
Prayers also: Verg. Aen. v 79-81, Ovid F ii 542. De Marchi ch3(3), Cumont chl(2), Toynbee ch3, Latte p98; cf Wagenvoort op. cit. on prayers.
62. Verg. Aen. v 102-3, Cumont chl(2); S.Eitrem Miscellanea CR xxxv 1921 p20 on a funeral feast depicted on an Etruscan tomb.
63. Ovid F ii 547-556.
64. Ovid F ii 617-623 - friendliness, ii 631-8 - full meal-time ritual, Val. Max. ii 1<sup>8</sup> - friendly feast, Mart. ix 54<sup>5</sup> & 11 & 55<sup>1-2</sup> - presents, Tert. De idol. 10<sup>3</sup>, ILS 7213<sup>13</sup> & 8745 Men. rust. Colot. (22 Feb.). Warde Fowler pp308-9, De Marchi ch3(4).
65. Cic. Pro Rab. perd. 30 - general, Verg. Aen. v 46-50 - anniversary of death, Suet. Vesp. 2 - sollemnibus ac festis diebus, Macr. i 16<sup>25</sup> - (Fabius Maximus Seruilianus) not on an atro die, ILS 7258 - parental, et rosar., ILS 7267 - diebus sollemnibus, birthday, parent. & rosa, 8366 - birthday, rosatio, uiola. & parent., Kal., Nones & Ides, 8370 - birthday, parent., rosalior. De Marchi ch3(3), Cumont chl(2), Bömer AA chl, Toynbee ch3.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 66 - CHAPTER FOUR 79

66. Varro in St. Aug. CD vii 13 - uim habet omnium rerum gignendarum, Paul.-Fest. p84<sup>3-7</sup>L, Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>1</sup>, Arnob. ii 67, Non. pl72L, Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>88</sup>. Walde-Hofmann, Ernout-Meillet, De Marchi chl(4), Latte pl03, Radke Genius.
67. Cic. Pro Cluent. 14, Hor. Epist. i 1<sup>87</sup>, Juv. 10<sup>334</sup>, Fest. p83<sup>23-24</sup>L, Serv. Aen. vi 603, Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>88</sup>, Aur. Victor (inc. auct.) De uir. illust. 57<sup>4</sup>; also Val. Max. vi 1 - genialem torum, Stat. Silu. ii 7<sup>82</sup> - taedis genialibus, Juv. 6<sup>22</sup> - sacri Genium fulcri, Prud. C. Symm. i 256 - fulcrum geniale, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 327 - epulis genialibus, Carm. Epigr. 1139a - seruauit thalamum Genio.
68. Serv. E 6<sup>3</sup> and Aen. iii 607; cf Ovid Met. xiii 929 - genialia sorta. Onians ppl27-131.
69. Apul. Met. ii 27, v 22.
70. Plaut. Aul. 725; also Ter. Phorm. 44, Non. pl69L, Serv. G i 302.
71. Pers. 5<sup>151</sup> - indulge Genio, carpamus dulcia, Serv. G i 302.
72. Plaut. Capt. 879, Curc. 301, Men. 138, Persa 108 & 263, Stich. 622, Truc. 182, Ovid F iii 58, Petr. 62 & 74, Mart. vi 61<sup>10</sup>, vii 78<sup>4</sup>.
73. Petr. 53 & 75.
74. CIL ii 1980 = ILS 3604 (Spain) - libertus & uilicus, CIL ii 4082 = ILS 3605 (Spain) - two slaves, CIL v 1868 = ILS 3643A - libertus, CIL v 7238 - libertus, CIL v 7468 = ILS 6745 - collegium to a patron, CIL vi 257 - slave, CIL vi 258 = ILS 3642 - slave, CIL vi 259 = ILS 3643 - familia, CIL x 860 = ILS 3640 - libertus, CIL x 861 = ILS 3641 - two liberti, CIL xi 356 - uilicus.
75. See Boyce index Genius and Paintings (subjects); and cf statuettes in W.Lamb Greek and Roman bronzes London 1929 p219.
76. See Chapter Three p 76.
77. Suet. Cal. 27<sup>3</sup>, Tert. Apol. 32<sup>2</sup>. Cf Rhona Beare Per Genium tuum summ. Proc. Class. Assoc. lxi 1964.
78. Suet. Aug. 60. D.M.Pippidi Le 'numen Augusti' REL ix 1931 p83.
79. Ovid F v 145-6. G.Niebling Zum Kult des Genius und der Laren Forsch. Fort. 1950 pl47.

NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 80 - CHAPTER FOUR 99

80. CIL vi 239 - dedication to the Genius familiae, vi 30797 - Genius domus, CIL viii 2597 = IIS 3660 (Num.) - Genius domi suae, CIL viii 2632 (Num.) - Genius domus, viii 21605 (Maur.) - Genius domus, x 6302 - Genius familiae, IIS 1091 (Num.) - Genius domus.
81. Rose RGR pl93, PG ch7; De Marchi chl(4).
82. See Chapter Three p75.
83. Ovid Trist. v 5; and see Chapter Five ppl35-7.
84. See Chapter Eight pp203-5 & 209-210.
85. Radke Lares; but Warde Fowler pp279-280 on crossroads.
86. Varro LL vi 25, Serv. G.ii 383, Auson. Ecl. 23 De fer. 17-18, Schol. Pers. 4<sup>28</sup>, Placid. compita; hence Lares Viales sometimes: Plaut. Merc. 865, Varro LL vi 25.
87. Pers. 4<sup>28</sup> & Schol., Grom. uet. (Dolabella) Blume-Lachmann-Rudorff p302.
88. Pers. 4<sup>28</sup> & Schol. So Warde Fowler p279-280, Rose RGR pl86, Latte p91, Meslin chl(2).
89. Louise A.Holland The shrine of the Lares Compitales TAPhA lxviii 1937 p428.
90. On all this see Chapter Five ppl31-2.
91. Cic. De leg. ii 27, Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>3</sup>, Tib. i 1<sup>19-20</sup>, Serv. G.ii 383, Auson. Ecl. 23 De fer. 17-18; cf Non. p852L.
92. Paul.-Fest. p273<sup>7-12</sup>L - ut uiuis parcerent et essent his pilis et simulacris contenti, Macro. i 7<sup>35</sup> - pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur.
93. Paul.-Fest. p273<sup>7-12</sup>L, Macro. i 7<sup>35</sup> - effigies Maniae suspensae.
94. Macro. i 7<sup>35</sup>.
95. Paul.-Fest. pl08<sup>27-29</sup>L, p273<sup>7-12</sup>L.
96. Paul.-Fest. pl08<sup>27-29</sup>L.
97. Aelius Stilo in Fest. pll4<sup>15ff</sup>L.
98. Fest. pll4<sup>15ff</sup>L, Schol. Pers. 6<sup>55</sup> - indecori uultus personae quibus pueri terrentur.
99. Warde Fowler ppl16-7.



NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 100 - CHAPTER FOUR 109

100. Warde Fowler RF pp96 & 296 and The religious experience of the Roman people 1911 ch3. For the purposes of lustration according to D-S Oscillum & Latte p91. For a census: Holland op. cit.
101. Onians ppl27 & 135.
102. Verg. G ii 380-396, 382 - compita circum; cf St.Aug. CD vii 21 on obscene festivities for Liber at compita. E.Burck Die Komposition von Vergils Georgika Herm. lxiv 1929 p279; and F.Altheim A history of Roman religion London 1938 ppl26 & 159 on Dionysiac masks at the Liberalia.
103. Verg. G ii 389-392 - oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu ..., things flourish quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum. See also Serv. G ii 389, PW Oscilla, D-S Oscillum, EAA Oscillo.
104. See Chapter Two pp31-32.
105. Macr. i 7<sup>20</sup> - praeterita nosset et futura prospiceret, i 9<sup>4</sup>, Lyd. De mens. iv 2.
106. Varro LL vi 34, Lyd. De mens. iv 2.
107. Sacrifice: Varro LL vi 12 - on every Agon., Janus not mentioned, Ovid F 317-34. Agon.: Varro LL vi 12 - from agere or Ovid F 317-34 - various possible roots including = sheep, Paul.-Fest. p9<sup>15-18</sup> L - from hostia = agonia, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p223 Fasti Maff. & p231 Fasti Praen. Mysteriousness of all this: Warde Fowler p280-2, Latte pl35.
108. Ovid F i 65 - anni tacite labentis origo, i 163-4, Mart. viii 8<sup>1-2</sup> - principium des, Iane, licet uelcibus annis // et renoues uoltu saecula longa tuo. Auson. Dom. 5 p24-26 Peiper & Dom. 6 p26-27 Peiper - New Year, sun & Janus associated. Weak evidence, but see Warde Fowler p6, A.Brelich Vesta Zürich 1949 ch3, Louise A.Holland Janus and the bridge MAAR 1961 ch7, Latte pl34.
109. There is no early evidence. Pliny NH xxxiv 33 - aevi esse deum, Herod. i 16<sup>2</sup> - two-faced for the end and the beginning of the year, Macr. i 9<sup>9-10</sup> - (quidam) sun with power over the heavenly door, i 9<sup>10</sup> - concerned with the course of the year, Lyd. De mens. iv 1 - (Longinus) iv 2-(Varro) (Fontei<sup>us</sup>) god of eternity, (Lutatius) sun. Warde Fowler p283-6 and RE ch6, P.Lambrechts Vesta Lat. v 1946 p321, EAA Giano, Holland op.cit. chl6, Meslin intro.2.

NOTES : CHAPTER FOUR 109 contd. - CHAPTER FOUR 120

- 109 contd. Cf a statue: Pliny NH xxxiv 33 - Ianus Geminus a Numa rege dicatus with fingers showing the number 365 - but there were not 365 days in the year in Numa's time!, Macr. i 9<sup>10</sup> - holding the numbers 300 and 65, Lyd. De mens. iv 1 - holding counters representing 300 in right hand and 65 in left. Obviously this statue must have been post-Caesarian: Latte pl35, Holland op.cit. chl6, Radke Ianus.
110. Ovid F i 103 - primeval Chaos, i 117-120 - opener and closer of the universe, i 125-7, Paul.-Fest. p45<sup>22-25</sup>L - Chaos first thing of all, Macr. i 9<sup>11</sup> - mundus, Serv. Aen. vii 610 - alii Ianum aërem credunt ... alii mundum, Lyd. De mens. iv 2 - (Gaius Bassus) god of air, (Ovid) chaos, St. Aug. CD vii 10 - mundus. Meslin intro.2.
111. See Chapter Five pl31.
112. Ovid F i 72.
113. Colum. ii 98; also Ovid F i 63-72, i 175-8 - 'omina principiis' inquit 'inesse solent'; cf Auson. Dom. 5 p24-26 Peiper 10 - anne, bonis coepte auspiciis, Dom. 6 p26-27 Peiper 1. Meslin chl(2).
114. Meslin ch2(1) & (2).
115. Pliny NH xxviii 267.
116. Sen. Epist. 47<sup>2-3</sup>; also Colum. xi 1<sup>19</sup> - the uilicus is to have slaves dining round the hearth, Pliny NH xxxiii 26 - in the old days single slaves lived right in the family, Mart. iii 58<sup>22</sup> - cingunt serenum lactei focum uernae, Plut. Cor. 24<sup>4</sup> - working & eating together in the old days.
117. See Chapter Eight pp210-1.
118. See Chapter Eight pp209-210.
119. See Chapter Eight pp212-3.
120. Evidence in n 42 above.

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 1 - CHAPTER FIVE 16

1. Chapter Four pp80-81.
2. PW Paterfamilias, Rose RGR pl70.
3. Cf. Isid. Etym. ix 5<sup>7</sup>, Just. Inst. i 9<sup>0,2</sup>. See in general D-S Gens, Patria potestas, J.A.Crook Patria potestas CQ xvii 1967 pl13.
4. See Chapter Six ppl58-9.
5. Livy i 20<sup>6</sup>, Plut. Numa 9<sup>4</sup>. Latte p400.
6. Plaut. Aul. 16-22, Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>139-44</sup>. De Marchi ch2(2), PW Sacra, Paterfamilias, Latte pl47.
7. CIL x 7457 (Sicilia).
8. Cic. Pro Sest. 30. Chapter Two p22 and Chapter Four pp88-89.
9. Pliny NH ii 16 & Sen. Epist. 110<sup>1</sup>, also Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12</sup>, Epit. Inst. 28, Amm. Marc. xxi 14<sup>4-5</sup>, Mart. Cap. ii 152; cf Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>188-9</sup>, Petr. 62.
10. Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>1</sup> & Amm. Marc. xxi 14<sup>4-5</sup>, Sen Epist. 110<sup>1</sup> - paedagogum deum, Plut. De def. or. 421e, Brut. 40<sup>4</sup>, Ant. 33<sup>2</sup>, Apul. De deo Socr. 15<sup>151</sup>, - animus, Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>5</sup> - adsiduus obseruator, Amm. Marc. xvi 12<sup>13</sup> - salutaris Genius praesens, St. Aug. CD vii 13 - animum rationalem, Mart. Cap. ii 152 - praesul, tutelator.
11. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>187-9</sup>.
12. Pers. 4<sup>27</sup> - Genioque sinistro, 6<sup>18-19</sup> - uaro Genio, Plut. Brut. 36<sup>4</sup> & 48<sup>1</sup> - δαίμων κακός.
13. Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>3</sup>, Serv. Aen. vi 743. Cf P.Boyancé Les deux démons personnels dans l'antiquité grecque et latine RPh ix 1935 pl89.
14. Epict. ii 8<sup>11-13</sup>, Marc. Aur. iii 16<sup>2</sup>, St. Aug. CD vii 13, 16, 23.
15. Serv. Aen. v 85, also Verg. Aen. v 95, Calp. Sic. 5<sup>26</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p84<sup>3-7L</sup>, CIL ii 3021, CIL iii 4445 (Pann.), CIL vii 167, 235, 370 (Brit.).
16. Stat. Silu. iv 6<sup>32</sup> - Genius mensae, Auson. Technop. 8<sup>9</sup> (de dis) - Genius domuum, Prud. C.Symm. ii 445-9 - quamquam cur Genium Romae mihi fingitis unum, // cum portis domibus thermis stabulis soleatis // adsignare suos Genios perque omnia membra // urbis perque locos Geniorum milia multa // fingere, ne propria uacet angulus ullus ab umbra?, CIL ii 2194 (Hisp.) -

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 16 contd. - CHAPTER FIVE 27

16. contd. pagi Aug., CIL ii 2694 - fontis, CIL ii 1405 (Dacia) - pag. Mic., CIL vi 239 - familiae, CIL vi 706 - Cellae Groesianae, CIL vii 166 (Brit.) - centurie, CIL vii 886 (Brit.) - ualli, CIL viii 2597 (Num.) = IIS 3660 - domi suae, CIL viii 2603 (Num.) - scholae, CIL viii 2600 - populi Lambesis, CIL viii 2604 - uici, CIL viii 9180 (Maur.) - montis, CIL viii 9749 (Maur.) - fluminis, CIL x 1568 - coloniae Puteolan. See G.K.Boyce Significance of the serpents on Pompeian house shrines AJA xlvii 1942 pl3.
17. CIL ii 3021 (Hisp.) to Genius and Tutela, CIL ii 4092 (Hisp.) - Deo Tutelae, CIL iii 4445 (Pann.) to Tutela and Genius loci, CIL v 3304 - Tutelae domus Rupilianae, CIL vi 178 to Fortuna and Tutela, CIL vi 179 to Fortuna and Tutela, CIL vi 216 to Genius, Fortuna and Tutela.
18. Livy xxi 62<sup>10</sup>, Dio xlvii 2<sup>3</sup>, 1 8<sup>2</sup>, Amm. Marc. xxv 2<sup>3</sup>, Prud. C.Symm. ii 445, Serv. Aen. ii 351, Mart. Cap. ii 152.
19. Mart. Cap. i 53.
20. Sen. Epist. 90<sup>28</sup>, Apul. De Plat. i 12<sup>206</sup>, Tert. Apol. 32<sup>2-3</sup>, Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>2</sup>, Lact. Inst. ii 14<sup>12-14</sup>, Epit. Inst. 28, St. Aug. CD vii 6.
21. Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>.
22. CIL iii 8120 (Moes.), CIL v 246, v 6950, vi 4307, vi 7806, vi 7807, vi 5739, CIL vi 8434 = IIS 1523, CIL vi 9005 = IIS 1795, CIL vi 11429 = IIS 8081, CIL vi 18065, CIL vi 15157, vi 20237, CIL vi 21920 = IIS 8049, CIL vi 22196, vi 22322, vi 22523, CIL vi 22779 = IIS 8048, CIL vi 28668 = IIS 8045, CIL vi 29109 = IIS 8047, CIL viii 22770 (Trip.), CIL ix 5794 = IIS 8050.
23. Ovid F ii 545, also Arnob. Adu. gent. iii 41.
24. Hor. AP 208-211 and Cod. Theod. xvi 10<sup>12</sup>, also Plaut. Capt. 290-292 - Samian pottery used, Lactant. Inst. ii 14<sup>12-13</sup> & Epit. Inst. 28 - every day; cf Calp. Sic. 5<sup>25-28</sup> - salted far and a victim offered to a Genius loci.
25. Eg Sen. Epist. 114<sup>5</sup>.
26. Chapter Three pp65-66, 68.
27. De Marchi chl(4), Boyce op. cit.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 28 - CHAPTER FIVE 40

28. Serv. Aen. v 85.
29. Bulard RD chl and PMM ch2.
30. Tib. i 7<sup>51-52</sup> - Genius wears unguent and garlands, i 7<sup>63</sup> - Natalis is dressed in white, ii 2<sup>6</sup> - Genius wears garlands and nard.
31. Amm. Marc. xxv 2<sup>3</sup> - Genius publicus is veiled and has cornucopia, CIL vii 167 (Britain) - standard Genius as Genius loci. See also W.Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Tübingen 1963 i no83 p64 for a Genius on an altar to the Lares Augusti of 12/7 BC.
32. Boyce 211, 219, 271, 309, 310.
33. See Boyce index Statuettes: 4 definite and 4 possible Genii were found at Pompeii.
34. M.C.Ross A IV century AD silver statuette Stud. pres. to D.M.Robinson i Wash. Univ. 1951 p794; also CIL vi 15157 - Genius of a dead man shown as man reclining with scyphus and garland.
35. Chapter Four p89.
36. Lact. iii 20; also from entering the temple of Vesta: Ovid F vi 449-450. See also Chapter Six pl40.
37. Dig. xi 7<sup>4</sup> - heir, Paul.-Fest. p68<sup>8-13</sup><sub>L</sub> - euerriator. F.de Visscher Les fondations privées en droit romain classique RIDA ii 1955 pl97, Toynbee ch3(A). He was still ultimately subject to pontifical law: Plut. Numa 12<sup>1</sup>.
38. Pliny Y Epist v 16 - daughter, Stat. Silu. v 5 - adopted son, Dig. xi 7<sup>14</sup> - expense, CIL x 7457 (Sic.). But Dio lvi 32<sup>4</sup> - Augustus refused his tomb to his daughter.
39. CIL vi 18754 = IIS 8554 - to a uerna. Bömer URS ch4, W.L.Westermann The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity Philadelphia 1955 chl2. See also Chapter Eight pp206 & 213.
40. Pers. 6<sup>33-36</sup> - heir neglects duties, Paul.-Fest. p68<sup>8-13</sup> - euerriator, Dig. xi 7<sup>4</sup>. Toynbee ch3(A).

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 41 - CHAPTER FIVE 48

41. Verg. Aen. iv 684-5, Ovid Met. vii 861, Met. ix 504 - man to his sister, Prop. ii 13<sup>29</sup>, Petr. 74 - Trimalchio's wife not to kiss him on his death-bed, Lucan iii 739, Stat. Silu. v 1<sup>195</sup>. Cumont chl(4), and see especially Toynbee ch3(A) on this and other funeral customs below.
42. Verg. Aen. iii 68, Ovid F iii 563, Serv. Aen. ii 645.
43. Verg. Aen. ix 487 - mother, Ovid Trist. iii 3<sup>44</sup>, iv 3<sup>44</sup>, Am. iii 9<sup>49</sup> - mother, Her. 10<sup>120</sup>, Lucan iii 740, Sen. Contr. ix 27<sup>5</sup>, De cons. ad Marc. 3<sup>2</sup> - mother should have, Stat. Silu. v 1<sup>196</sup>, Euseb. Hist.eccles. vii 22<sup>9</sup>.
44. Ter. Phorm. 95-96, Cic. De leg. ii 59 - limited by the XII Tables, Verg. Aen. vi 220, xi 37-38, Ovid Trist. iii 3<sup>40-43</sup>, iv 3<sup>42</sup>, Her. 10<sup>119</sup>, 14<sup>127</sup>, Prop. i 17<sup>23</sup>, ii 13<sup>28</sup>, iv 7<sup>23</sup>, 7<sup>27-28</sup>, Hor. Od. ii 20<sup>21-24</sup>, Livy iv 40<sup>3</sup> & Ogilvie ad loc., Sen. De breu. uit. 20<sup>3</sup> - a circumstante familia, De tranq. an. 11<sup>7</sup>, Quint. Decl. 8<sup>10</sup>, Tac. A iii 4-5, Stat. Silu. v 1<sup>197-8</sup>, Petr. 42 - by newly-freed slaves, 54, 72, 111, 134, Lucan ii 22-24, Apul. Met. i 6, ix 30, Lucian De luctu 12, Amm. Marc. xix 1<sup>10-11</sup>, xxx 10<sup>1</sup>, Serv. Aen. vi 218, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 354-6, Donat. Ter. Eun. 347, Jerome Vita S. Pauli 17<sup>13</sup>.
45. Arnob. iv 7, St. Aug. CD vi 9. Radke Nenia.
46. Cic. De leg. ii 59 = XII Tab. x 4 - limited by the XII Tables, Verg. Aen. iv 673, xi 37-38, 86, Ovid Am. iii 9<sup>52</sup>, F ii 813, Trist. iii 3<sup>51</sup>, Prop. ii 13<sup>27</sup>, Petr. 111, 115, Stat. Silu. ii 1<sup>171</sup>, Lucian De luctu 12, Serv. Aen. iii 67 & xii 606 - human blood as an offering. Chapter Six pl77.
47. Verg. Aen. vi 221 - purple, ix 488, Livy xxxiv 7<sup>3</sup> - toga praetexta, Petr. 42, 77 - uitalia, 78 - stragulam albam et praetextam, Plut. QR 26 - white, Sen. Epist. 99<sup>22</sup> - uitalia, Juv. 3<sup>172</sup> - toga, Mart. ix 57<sup>8</sup> - toga of pauper, Suet. Nero 50 - white woven with gold, Apul. Met. ii 24 - splendidibus linteis, Flor. 4 - pallio, Artem. Onir. ii 3- white, Herod. iv 2<sup>3</sup> - white, Lact. Inst. ii 4<sup>9</sup> - uestibus pretiosis, Euseb. Hist.eccles. vii 22<sup>9</sup>, Jerome Vita S. Pauli 17<sup>13</sup> - cloth of gold, Julian Epist. 56 - white.
48. Verg. Aen. vi 219, Ovid Her. 10<sup>122</sup>, Petr. 77-78, Pers. 3<sup>104</sup>, Apul. Flor. 19, Lucian De luctu 11 - myrrh, Min. Felix Oct. 12<sup>6</sup>. Onians p277.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 49 - CHAPTER FIVE 58

49. Lucian De luctu 11, Tert. De cor. 10<sup>2</sup>.
50. Prop. iv 11<sup>7</sup>, Juv. 3<sup>267</sup>, Apul. Met. vi 18 - also balls of pearl-barley and honey in its hands, Lucian De luctu 10. Samter GHT ch 18 - to bribe it not to return.
51. Pers. 3<sup>103</sup>, Sen. De breu. uit. 20<sup>5</sup>, Epist. 122<sup>10</sup>, Paul.-Fest. pl7<sup>3-4L</sup> - acerra, Donat. Ter. Andr. 115, Serv. Aen. xi 143. Cumont chl(2), Samter GHT ch5.
52. Ter. Phorm. 97 - in the hall, Pers. 3<sup>103-5</sup> - with his feet towards the door, Pliny NH vii 46 - feet foremost, xxi 7, Sen. Epist. 12<sup>3</sup> - facing the door, Herod. iv 2<sup>4</sup>, Serv. Aen. v 64 & vi 218 - for seven days, Schol. Hor. Epod. 17<sup>48</sup>. An unusually long time according to Bömer AA ch3.
53. Petr. 63 - witches, 111, Apul. Met. ii 21-24 - from werewolves & monsters. Cf Samter GHT chl1; see also E.Vetter Di Nouensides, di Indigetes IF lxii 1956 pl.
54. Mart. x 97<sup>3</sup>, Tert. Apol. 13<sup>7</sup>, Fulgent. Serm. ant. p388 G & R. The poor were buried by uespillones: Paul.-Fest. p506<sup>16-19L</sup>, Serv. Aen. xi 143, Fulgent. Serm. ant. p388 G & R.
55. Tac. A xiii 17, Serv. Aen. vi 224, xi 143, Julian Epist. 56, Donat. Ter. Andr. 108 - to avoid polluting sacrificial rites. Disputed by Rose RGR pl95 and H.J.Rose Nocturnal funerals in Rome CQ xvii 1923 pl91, and by Latte pl02.
56. Verg. Aen. vi 224, vii 337, xi 143, Ovid Her. 2<sup>120</sup>, 6<sup>42</sup>, F ii 562, Prop. iv 11<sup>46</sup>, Val. Max. v 5<sup>4</sup>, Sen. De breu. uit. 20<sup>5</sup>, De tranq. an. 11<sup>7</sup>, Epist. 122<sup>10</sup>, Tac. A iii 4, Lucan viii 740, 766-7, Mart. viii 43<sup>2</sup>, Apul. Flor. 19, Serv. Aen. vi 224.
57. Verg. Aen. vi 222 - friends, Pers. 3<sup>106</sup> - new freedmen. Bier = feretrum: Verg. Aen. vi 222, xi 64, Stat. Theb. vi 55; lectus: Prop. ii 13<sup>21</sup>, Petr. 42, Mart. x 97<sup>3</sup>. Fulgent. Serm. ant. p388 G & R - sandapila = pauper's/criminal's bier. Toynbee ch3(A).
58. Ter. Phorm. 98-99 - wretched when there is only one, Verg. Aen. xi 34-35, 61, Ovid F vi 663 - pompa, Prop. ii 13<sup>19</sup>, iv 11<sup>98</sup>, Lucan viii 733, Apul. Met. ix 30, Flor. 19, Donat. Ter. Andr. 108.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 59 - CHAPTER FIVE 63

59. Verg. Aen. iii 63 - women in dark uittae, Ovid Met. vi 568, Prop. iv 7<sup>28</sup>, Tac. A iii 2, Apul. Met. ii 23, Artem. Onir. ii 3, Paul.-Fest. p273<sup>3-4</sup> - praetexta pulla, Serv. Aen. iii 64; but Plut. QR 26 - women wear white.
60. Amm. Marc. xix 1<sup>10</sup> - cantando tristia quaedam genera naeniarum, Paul.-Fest. p250<sup>5-8</sup> L - praeficae.
61. Ovid F ii 660 - tibia, vi 664 - 10 musicians maximum, Prop. ii 13<sup>20</sup> & iv 11<sup>9</sup> - tuba, Petr. 78 - cornicines, Pers. 3<sup>103</sup> - tuba, Paul.-Fest. p82<sup>14-15</sup> - funebres tibiae. Deonna-Renard p101.
62. Dion. Hal. xi 39<sup>5-7</sup>, Prop. ii 13<sup>17-23</sup> - what P does not want, Lucan viii 729-735, Pliny NH xi 150, xxxv 6, Tac. A ii 73 - unnecessary at Germanicus' funeral, iii 2-5, 76, Sen. De cons. ad Marc. 3<sup>1-2</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>, Suet. Aug. 100, Herod. iv 2<sup>2-4</sup>, Amm. Marc. xix 1<sup>10-11</sup>, CIL xi 1421 = ILS 140. Rose RGR p196, Balsdon LL ch3(8). See Toynbee ch3(A) for the funus publicum & funus imperatorium.
63. Verg. Aen. iii 66-67 - milk & blood, vi 883-6 - lilies, purple flowers, gifts, xi 72-84 - gold & purple clothes, spoils of war, horses, weapons, victims' blood, Ovid F iii 561-2 - unguent & hair, Trist. iii 3<sup>82</sup> - sorta, Prop. i 17<sup>21-22</sup> - hair & roses, ii 13<sup>23</sup> & 30 - incense, iv 7<sup>32-34</sup> - nard, hyacinths & wine, Val. Max. v 5<sup>4</sup> - pretiosa ueste, Petr. 65 - wine, but Pliny NH xiv 88 - no wine according to a law of Numa, NH xii 82-83 - incense, Pliny Y Epist. iv 2 - Regulus sacrificed his son's dogs, horses, etc. at the latter's funeral, Epist. v 16 - incense, unguent, perfume, Plut. Sulla 35<sup>3</sup> - S exceeded his own law against lavish funerals, 38<sup>2</sup> - masses of perfume & incense at S's funeral, Pers. 6<sup>35-36</sup> - perfume, cinnamon, casia, Lucan viii 729-731 - incense, etc., Mart. x 97<sup>2</sup> - myrrh & casia, xi 54<sup>1-3</sup> - unguents, casia, myrrh, incense, cinnamon, Stat. Silu. ii 1<sup>157-163</sup> - gifts, flowers, saffron, myrrh, etc., ii 6<sup>85-93</sup> - incense, saffron, cinnamon, herbs, wine, Theb. vi 57 - garlands, flowers, perfume, incense, cinnamon, gold & purple cloths, gems, Apul. Apol. 32 - incense, casia & myrrh, Suet. Nero 50 - cost of 200,000 sesterces, Lact. Inst. ii 4<sup>9</sup> - precious gifts, Serv. Aen. iii 67 - victim's blood or red-coloured cloth, v 78 - blood (from scratches) and milk (from women's breasts), v 79 - blood-coloured flowers, Dig. xxx 113 - clothes, xxxiv 2<sup>40,2</sup> - jewellery. Cumont chl(2); Samter GHT chl7 - anything red as substitute for blood; Onians pp277-9 on life-giving offerings.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 64 - CHAPTER FIVE 75

64. Cic. Cato Mai. 21, Ovid Her. 14<sup>128</sup>, Prop. i 17<sup>20</sup>, Lucan viii 771-5.
65. Varro LL v 23, Cic. De leg. ii 55, Paul.-Fest. p135<sup>17-18</sup>L. Cumont complementary notes 1, Latte ppl00-1, Toynbee ch2(B).
66. Varro LL v 23, Verg. Aen. vi 365-6, Hor. Od. i 28<sup>21-25</sup>, 28<sup>35-36</sup>, Tac A i 62, Paul.-Fest. p250<sup>11-14</sup>L, Serv. Aen. vi 176. Wagenvoort chl.
67. Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup>L - familia purgabatur. See also Chapter Two ppl4-15; Deonna-Renard plll.
68. Cic. De leg. ii 55, Gell. xvi 4<sup>3-4</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>23-24</sup>L, p282<sup>14-16</sup>L.
69. Cic. De leg. ii 24, Paul.-Fest. p3<sup>3-5</sup>L - in the past; cf purification with water at Verg. Aen. vi 229-230. De Marchi ch3(3), Samter GHT ch6, who regards fire as an obstacle to the soul, Wagenvoort ch5.
70. Cic. De leg. ii 55. De Marchi ch3(3), Latte pl02, Toynbee ch3(A).
71. Hor. Od. ii 14<sup>23</sup>, Lucan iii 442, Pliny NH xvi 40 - pitch-pine, xvi 139, Paul.-Fest. p56<sup>3-6</sup>L, Serv. Aen. ii 714, iii 64 & 680, iv 507, vi 216.
72. Paul.-Fest. p242<sup>11-14</sup>L; also Gell. iv 6<sup>8</sup> - si qui familiam funestam aut non purgauerant, Paul.-Fest. p250<sup>11-14</sup>L. See further H.Le Bonniec Le culte de Cérès à Rome Paris 1953 ch3(3).
73. Cat. 59 - remains left there, Cic. In Vat. 30, Pro Flacco 95, Sen. Epist. i 12<sup>8</sup> - uino et illis funebribus epulis, Plut. QR 95 - beans at funeral feasts, Apul. Flor. 19, Lucian De luctu 24, Tert. Apol. 13<sup>7</sup> - silicernium, Fest. p376<sup>25-31</sup> - silicernium, Paul.-Fest. p57<sup>15</sup>L. The exact time and nature of the silicernium is not clear: De Marchi ch3(3), Latte pl02.
74. Hor. Epod. 17<sup>48</sup> & Schol., Petr. 65 - lautum nouendiale, Pers. 6<sup>33-34</sup> - cenam funeris, Juv. 5<sup>85</sup> - feralis cena, Apul. Met. ix 31, Porph. Hor. Epod. 17<sup>48</sup> - nouendiale sacrificium, Serv. Aen. v 64, De Marchi ch3(3), Rose RGR p195, Cumont chl(2).
75. Dion. Hal. iv 15<sup>5</sup>. Libitina: Mart. viii 43<sup>4</sup>, x 97<sup>1</sup>, Plut. Numa 12<sup>1</sup> - L = Venus or Proserpina, QR 23 - L = Venus. Radke Libitina, Latte ppl38-9 - she was originally a local goddess; G.-C. Picard La Vénus funéraire des Romains MEFR lvi 1939 pl21 compares the fact that dead women are sometimes called Venus on epitaphs.

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 76 - CHAPTER FIVE 91

76. Juv. 6<sup>25</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p54<sup>28-29</sup>L.
77. Plaut. Aul. 271, Poen. 1278-9, Ter. Ad. 473 - fidem, Cat. 62<sup>27-28</sup>, Varro LL v 70-71, Cic. Ad Att. vi 6, Prop. iii 20<sup>15</sup> - foedera & signandaque iura, Ovid Her. 6<sup>41</sup> - pacta fides, Livy iii 47<sup>6-7</sup>, Livy xxxviii 57<sup>6</sup>, Plut. Ti. Gracc. 4<sup>1-2</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>25</sup>, 6<sup>200</sup> - pactam, Suet. Claud. 27<sup>2</sup>, Fest. p440<sup>1-5</sup>, Tert. De idol. 16<sup>1</sup>, Ambrose De lapsu uirg. 5<sup>20</sup>, Paull. Sent. ii 19<sup>1</sup>. PW Sponsalia.
78. Varro LL vi 70, Gell. iv 4<sup>1-3</sup>.
79. Cic. Ad Att. vi 6, Suet. Jul. 1, Aug. 62, Claud. 26<sup>1</sup>. D-S Matrimonium, PW Matrimonium & Nuptiae, Baldson RW ch7.
80. Plaut. Curc. 675, Trin. 1163, Prop. iii 20<sup>13</sup>, Livy xxxviii 57<sup>6</sup>, Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup> & 29<sup>3</sup> - tabellae signed, Ambrose De lapsu uirg. 5<sup>20</sup> - inter decem testes.
81. Juv. 6<sup>200</sup>, Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup> & 29<sup>3</sup>, Apul. Apol. 88, Tert. De uirg. uel. 12, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>3</sup> - later than the verbal betrothal.
82. See Chapter Six ppl53-4.
83. Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup>.
84. Plaut. Aul. 218-241, 255-262, Curc. 670-5, Trin. 1156-63, Varro LL vi 70, Gell. iv 4<sup>2</sup>, Fest. p440<sup>1-5</sup>L, Hist. Aug. Gall. duo 11, Prud. C. Symm. i 257, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>3</sup>, Sidon. Epist. i 5<sup>11</sup>.
85. Prop. iii 20<sup>25</sup> and Fest. p440<sup>4-5</sup>L, also Tert. De idol. 16<sup>1</sup> - officia ... sollemnitatum. PW Nuptiae.
86. Paul.-Fest. p283<sup>13-14</sup>L.
87. Pliny NH ix 117, Sen. De benef. iv 39<sup>3</sup>, Pliny Y Epist. i 9, Suet. Aug. 53 - A in turba quondam sponsaliorum die uexatus.
88. Pliny NH xxxiii 12, Juv. 6<sup>27</sup>, Tert. Apol. 6<sup>4</sup>, Isid. De eccl. off. ii 20<sup>8</sup>, Etym. xix 32<sup>4</sup>; cf Poet. Min. Lat. iii 42<sup>75</sup> (Epith. Laur.) - the pronuba takes off the bride's anulus on her wedding night.
89. M.Cary & A.D.Nock Magic spears CQ xxi 1927 pl22, Onians pp448-9.
90. Gell. x 10<sup>1-2</sup>, Isid. De eccl. off. ii 20<sup>8</sup>.
91. Tert. Apol. 6<sup>4</sup> - gold. Rossbach chl(c) - gems on gold or silver anuli pronubi.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 92 - CHAPTER FIVE 97

92. Evidence for the marriage contract: Cat. 64<sup>335</sup> - foedus, Verg. Aen. iv 339 - foedera, Prop. iii 20<sup>15</sup> - foedera & signandaque iura, iii 20<sup>25</sup> - pactas in foedera ... aras, Berlin Pap. 1052 = Select. Pap 3 (a 13BC contract from the eastern part of the empire)., Val. Flacc. viii 250 - promissam ... fidem, Tac. A xi 30 - tabulas nuptialis, A xii 5 - pactum ... matrimonium, Quint. Inst. v 11<sup>32</sup> - tabulae, Juv. 2<sup>119</sup> - tabulae, 6<sup>200</sup> - legitimis pactam iunctamque tabellis, Apul. Met. iv 26 - pacto iugali & tabulis, Apol. 68 - tabulas nubtiales, Apol. 88 - tabulae nubtiales, Tert. De uirg.uel. 12 - tabellae, Ad uxor. ii 3 - tabellas nuptiales, St. Aug. Sermo 51<sup>22</sup> - tabulae matrimoniales, 278<sup>9</sup> - tabulas, Prud. C.Symm. i 258 - pactam, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>66</sup> - tabulaeque dotis, Isid. Etym. ix 5<sup>8</sup> - tabulae ... matrimoniales. Rossbach chl(a) - the bridegroom on sarcophagi and chl(d) on lamps, ch2-3, 6; PW Nuptiae, G.von Lücken Zu römischen Hochzeitssarkophagen Alt. ii 1956 p28, Balsdon RW ch7, H.A.Sanders A Latin marriage contract TAPA lxix 1938 pl04 has 2 papyri of c. AD 100, although the Romans often used wax tablets. For the contents of the marriage contract see Chapter Six pl63.
93. Verg. E 8<sup>30</sup>, also Cat. 61<sup>128-35</sup> - given by the bridegroom's ex-favourite, Pliny NH xv 86, Paul.-Fest. pl79<sup>8-9</sup>L, Auson. Cento nupt. 73 - sparge, marite, nuces, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup>.
94. Pliny NH xv 86 - symbols of fertility rather than because they make a noise, Paul.-Fest. pl79<sup>8-9</sup>L - for a good omen, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup> - for an omen since they belong to Jupiter (Varro), or to make a noise so that the bride does not hear anything adverse or else to encourage the pair on their wedding night. Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2).
95. Samter FF chl.
96. Varro LL v 61, also Ovid F iv 792, AA ii 598, Dion. Hal. ii 30<sup>6</sup> - referring to Romulus' day but still true, Plut. QR 1, Val. Flacc. viii 245, Paul.-Fest. p3<sup>1-3</sup>L, Non. p830L quoting Nouius, Lact. ii 10 - sacramento, still true, Serv. Aen. iv 167 quoting Varro, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>66</sup>. Samter FF ch2, E.E.Burris The use and worship of fire among the Romans CW xxiv 1930 p43.
97. Varro in Non. p263 & 469L - e foco in titione ex felici arbore, & in aquali aqua allata; cf the misinterpretation of Serv. Aen. iv 167 - unde hodieque et faces praelucent.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 98 - CHAPTER FIVE 109

98. Varro LL v 61 - causa nascendi, Plut. QR 1, Lact. ii 10 - in a philosophical way.
99. Plut. QR 1 - purification given as one possible interpretation, cf Paul.-Fest. p77<sup>21-23</sup>L - aqua aspergebatur noua nupta, siue ut casta puraue ad uirum ueniret ... Samter FF ch2, Rose RGR p193.
100. Serv. Aen. iv 167 - aqua petita de puro fonte per puerum felicissimum uel puellam interest nuptiis, de qua nubentibus solebant pedes lauari. Samter FF ch2, Latte p96.
101. Dion. Hal. ii 30<sup>6</sup> - ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πύρος καὶ ὕδατος ἐγγυῶν τοὺς γάμους, Ovid F iv 791-2, Plut. QR 1 - with other philosophical interpretations, Paul.-Fest. p3<sup>1-3</sup>L, p77<sup>21-23</sup>L.
102. Cic. Pro Cluent. 14 - arrayed by a woman for her daughter's wedding & later for her own, Hor. Epist. i 1<sup>87</sup>, Prop. iv 11<sup>85</sup> - opposite the door, Ovid Met. vi 431 - arrayed by the Eumenides in an ill-omened marriage, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>13</sup> - prepared by Venus, Val. Max. vi 1, Tac. A xv 37, Mart. iii 93<sup>24</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p83<sup>23-24</sup>L, Prud. C.Symm. i 256, Serv. Aen. vi 603, Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>88</sup>.
103. Cat. 61<sup>172</sup> - Tyrio in toro, Cins 440 - Assyrio ... ostro, Lucan ii 356-7 - up ivory steps and arrayed with cloth of gold, Juv. 10<sup>334</sup> - Tyrius ... genialis, Arnob. ii 67 - laid with a toga, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>26</sup> - uestes Tyrio sanguine fulgidas.
104. Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>26</sup> - certainly the actual marriage bed here.
105. Paul.-Fest. p83<sup>23-24</sup>L - in honore Genii. Raglan chl2 & 13.
106. Arnob. ii 67 - maritorum Genios aduocatis.
107. Cat. 61<sup>171-3</sup>; the bride reclines on it (perhaps the actual marriage bed) at Liber. in Gell. xvi 9<sup>4</sup> - in lecto aduerso sedet, Sen. Oct. 698.
108. Hor. Sat. ii 2<sup>59-61</sup> - albatrus celebret, Apul. Apol. 88 - it did not take place, Fest. p350<sup>13-14</sup>L - postridie nuptias apud nouum maritum cenatur, Symm. Ep. vii 19 - a friend present, Schols. Hor. Sat. ii 2<sup>60</sup>.
109. Cat. 61<sup>151-163</sup>, 109<sup>6</sup> - aeternum foedus (here of a quasi-married relationship), Prop. ii 6<sup>42</sup>, 20<sup>17-18</sup>, CIL vi 1527 = ILS 8393 (8-2BC) - Turia's tam diuturna matrimonia; cf Tert. Apol. 6<sup>6</sup> on the absence of divorce per annos ferme sexcentos ab urbe condita. E.Volterra La conception du



NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 109 contd. - CHAPTER FIVE 126

- 109 contd. mariage à Rome RIDA ii 1955 p365, G.Williams Some aspects of Roman marriage ceremonies and ideals JRS xlviii 1958 pl6.
110. Rose PC ch7.
111. Paul.-Fest. p54<sup>26-27</sup>L.
112. Val. Max. ii 1<sup>6</sup>. Radke Viriplace, Balsdon RW chl0.
113. Morigera: Plaut. Amph. 842, Most. 226 - in quasi-married relationship, Cist. 175, Men. 202 - in quasi-married relationship, Lucr. iv 1280-2. Obedient: Plaut. Most. 205 - in quasi-married relationship, Cat. 61<sup>151-3</sup>, Carm. Ep. 429<sup>4</sup>, 1988<sup>15</sup>, CIL iii 754 (Moesia Inf.), vi 1527 = ILS 8393 (8-2BC) - Turia compliant. Williams op. cit.
114. CIL xiv 5326.
115. Plut. Rom. 22<sup>3</sup>, Suet. Tib. 11<sup>4</sup> - ob libidines atque adulteria, Claud. 26<sup>2</sup> - cum Vrgulanilla ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionum, Val. Max. viii 2<sup>3</sup> - inpudicam, Wife fined: Val. Max. viii 2<sup>3</sup> (referring to Marius' time).
116. PW Diuortium, Volterra op. cit.
117. Plaut. Amph. 928 and Juv. 6<sup>146</sup>, also Cic. Phil. ii 69 - suas res sibi habere iussit, (as acc. to XII Tables), Ovid Rem. am. 669-671 - amicable separation, Mart. x 41<sup>2</sup>, Apul. Met. v 26.
118. Cic. Top. 19 - nuntium remisit, Ad Att. xi 23, Val. Max. vi 3<sup>12</sup> - repudii nota adfecit, Suet. Tib. 11<sup>4</sup>.
119. Cic. Top. 19 - uiri culpa, Suet. Tib. 11<sup>4</sup>, and see above n115.
120. Val. Max. ii 1<sup>4</sup> - Spurius Caruilius Ruga (reason criticised however), Gell. iv 3<sup>2</sup> & xvii 21<sup>44</sup> - Caruilius Ruga, CIL vi 1527 = ILS 8393 - Turia.
121. Cic. Ad Att. i 13<sup>3</sup>, Plut. Cic. 28.
122. Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup>, Plut. Rom. 22<sup>3</sup> - ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ τέκνων ὑποβολῇ καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν, Apul. Met. v 26 - for supposed attempt to murder husband.
123. Plaut. Merc. 817-823, Val. Max. vi 3<sup>10-12</sup>.
124. Plut. Cic. 41<sup>2-3</sup> - according to Cicero.
125. Plut. Cic. 41<sup>5</sup>.
126. Juv. 6<sup>147-8</sup>.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 127 - CHAPTER FIVE 145

127. Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup> and Cic. Ad fam. viii 7.
128. Plut. Cic. 41<sup>2-3</sup> - another woman, according to Terentia, Dio xlviii 5<sup>3</sup> & Suet. Aug. 62 - Octavian because of his mother-in-law; also Mart. x 41<sup>4-8</sup> - to keep the money.
129. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>3</sup>.
130. Gell. x 15<sup>23</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p79<sup>23-25</sup> L. Balsdon RW ch7.
131. CIL x 6662 = ILS 1455 (time of Commodus).
132. Paul.-Fest. p65<sup>17-19</sup> L - a kind of sacrifice with a farreum libum (?). De Marchi ch3(1), Latte p96.
133. J.Crook CR xxi 1971 p396 reviewing D.Lieb's chapter in Sympotica Franz Wieacker sexagenario Sasbachwaldeni a suis libata Göttingen 1970.
134. Pliny NH xxviii 42. Samter GHT chl0.
135. See Chapter Six pl75.
136. See Chapter Six pl75.
137. Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>38</sup> - by Statius for a friend's child, Juv. 6<sup>51-52</sup> - coronam ... corymbos, 6<sup>79</sup> - lauro, 9<sup>85</sup> - coronas.
138. Stat. Silu. iv 7<sup>29-32</sup> - occasion for joy, iv 8<sup>37-40</sup> - festos ... ignes, music and drinking carried out by Statius for friend's child, Suet. Nero 6<sup>1</sup> - friends' congratulations.
139. Ovid Am. ii 13<sup>21-24</sup> - incense & gifts for Ilythia, Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>1-4</sup> - incense and victims offered in temples, 8<sup>37</sup> - festos ... altaribus ignes, Suet. Cal 25<sup>3-4</sup> - prayers to Minerva; cf Lucr. iv 1236-8 - gifts to the gods from men desirous of having their wives pregnant.
140. Dion. Hal. iv 15<sup>5</sup>. Latte pl06.
141. Hist. Aug. Marc. 9<sup>7-8</sup> (AD 164), also Apul. Apol. 89-tabulae in tabularium and home, Serv. G ii 502 - registration in temple of Saturn. Balsdon RW ch9, LL ch3.
142. Juv. 9<sup>82-86</sup> - client has fathered child which patron chooses to raise.
143. Plaut. Amph. 500-1, Ter. Andr. 219, 400-1, Cic. Ad. Att. xi 9, Verg. Aen. ix 201-3, Petr. 116, Juv. 6<sup>38-39</sup>, Suet. Tib. 7<sup>2</sup>, Quint. Inst. or. iv 2<sup>42</sup>, Serv. E 4<sup>1</sup>, Donat. Ter. Andr. 3, 1<sup>6</sup> D-S Patria potestas, Latte p95.
144. St. Aug. CD iv 11.
145. See Chapter Seven ppl89-190.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 146 - CHAPTER FIVE 160

146. Cic. De leg. iii 19 (XII Tables 4<sup>1</sup>).
147. Muson. Rufus Rel. (Hense) 15b, Ter. Heaut. 626-630, Apul. Met. x 23, Longus Past. iv 35.
148. Suet. Gram. 21 - C.Melissus exposed ob discordiam parentum, Claud. 27<sup>1</sup>. Or for any reason: Suet. Aug. 94 - abortive attempt to pass law that no infants were to be reared lest king of Rome appear, Gram. 7 - M.Antonius Gniphos exposed, reason not stated, Tert. Apol. 9, Lact. Inst. vi 20.
149. Juv. 6<sup>602-7</sup>, Tert. Apol. 9.
150. Apul. Met. x 23.
151. Slave alumni: CIL viii 12879 (Carth.), viii 24687 (Carth.).
152. Pliny Y Epist. x 65-66 - correspondence with Trajan about the political status of alumni, Suet. Gram. 7 & 21 - both ingenui who were slave alumni and then manumitted, CIL viii 3002 (Num.), x 7457 (Sic.) - alumnus freed by will. W.L.Westermann The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity Philadelphia 1955 ch13, Balsdon LL ch3.
153. CIL viii 3002 (Num.), viii 12879 (Carth.), viii 24687 (Carth.).
154. CIL viii 2394 (Num.).
155. Cic. De domo 34, Livy xlv 40<sup>7</sup>, Plut. Aem. Paul. 5<sup>3</sup>, 35<sup>1</sup>, Suet. Aug. 64 & 65, Isid. Etym. ix 5<sup>20</sup>. See further D-S Adoptio.
156. As Hadrian said: Dio lxix 20; but Statius freed and adopted a baby slave born in his house: Stat. Silu. v 5<sup>73-75, 79-81</sup>, Ter. Adel. 462-3 - brother's son adopted. Balsdon LL ch3.
157. Gell. v 19<sup>2-3</sup>, Just. Inst. i 11<sup>1</sup>; cf Paul.-Fest. p61<sup>25-27</sup>L, Suet. Aug. 64 - Gaius et Lucius adoptavit domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa.
158. Cic. De domo 35, Serv. Aen. ii 156, Samter FF ch7.
159. Macr. i 6<sup>8</sup>.
160. Cic. Ad Att. ix 19, Pro Sest. 144, Phaedr. iii 10<sup>9-10</sup>, Quint. Inst. iv 2<sup>42</sup>, Stat. Silu. v 2<sup>68-69</sup>, Plut. Ant. 72<sup>3</sup> - for his son by Fulvia, Suet. Aug. 26<sup>2</sup> - for his adopted sons, Tib. 15<sup>1</sup>.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 161 - CHAPTER FIVE 171

161. Cic. Ad Att. v 20<sup>9</sup> & vi 1<sup>12</sup>.
162. Dion. Hal. iv 15<sup>5</sup>. Balsdon LL ch3, Gagé chl a.
163. Livy xlii 34<sup>3</sup>, Sen. Contr. ii 3<sup>2</sup>, vii 6<sup>12</sup>, Gell. ii 7<sup>13</sup>, Plut. Pomp. 44<sup>2</sup>, Cato Min. 30<sup>2</sup>, Suet. Claud. 27<sup>1</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 26, Paull. Sent. ii 19<sup>2</sup>, Ulp. fr. 5<sup>2</sup> - si in potestate sint.
164. Plaut. Aul. 172-241, 255-262, 268-271, 294-5, Curc. 661-675 - sister, Trin. 689-694 - sister, 1156-63, Poen. 1278-9, Varro LL vi 70-71, Cic. Ad Att. i 3, Ad. Q. fr. ii 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup> & 3, Livy iii 47<sup>6-7</sup>, xxxviii 57<sup>2</sup>, Corn. Nepos Att. 19<sup>4</sup>, Suet. Claud. 27<sup>2</sup>, 29<sup>3</sup> - his wife Messalina!, Aug. 63, 64 - granddaughters, Plut. Ti. Gracc. 4<sup>1-2</sup>, Apul. Apol. 73 - his mother, Dio lx 5<sup>7</sup>, epit. lxxi 1<sup>3</sup>, Hist. Aug. Ant. Pius 10, Ambrose De Abr. i 9<sup>91</sup>, Ulp. fr. 5<sup>2</sup>, Dig. xxiii 2<sup>38</sup>; but Cic. Ad Att. vi 6 - Tullia & Dolabella got betrothed without C's consent, Apul. Met. vi 9 - patre non consentiente.
165. Plaut. Aul. 383-7, Cat. 62<sup>59-62</sup>, Varro RR iii 16<sup>2</sup> - sister, Ovid F vi 219-222, Mart. vi 8, Quint. Declam. 306, Suet. Aug. 63, Dio lx 5<sup>7</sup>, Apul. Met. x 24 - sister, Macr. i 6<sup>29</sup>.
166. Ter. Ad. 974-7 - for being nutrix. Dion. Hal. v 13<sup>1</sup> - for giving information about conspiracy, Colum. i 8<sup>19</sup> - for producing more than three children, CIL vi 5201 = ILS 1837 - for being nutrix, CIL vi 16450 = ILS 8532 - for being nutrix.
167. Mart. i 101 - freed dying 16-year-old slave, vi 28<sup>1</sup> & 29<sup>4</sup> - freed dying 12-year-old, CIL x 2381 = ILS 7842 (4BC) - freed on day of death.
168. Tac. A xv 54 - seruorum carissimi libertate ... donati (by Scaeuinus AD65), Suet. Vita Ter. 1 - ob ingenium et formam, St. Aug. Sermo 21<sup>6</sup> - for fides, Susan Treggiari Roman freedmen during the late republic Oxford 1969 intro.2.
169. Gaius i 19. For adoption: eg Stat. Silu. v 5<sup>73-75</sup>. For marriage: eg CIL i 1216, 1248, 1638, 2135. See Chapter Eight pp212-3, also Chapter Four pl02.
170. Dion. Hal. iv 24<sup>6</sup>.
171. Petr. 42.



NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 172 - CHAPTER FIVE 184

172. Perhaps Plaut. Men. 1023-32 - liber esto atque ito quo uoles, Epid. 730-1 - liber esto, Ter. Ad. 970 - liber esto, Petr. 41 - 'Dionyse' inquit 'liber esto', 54, Sen. De uita beata 24<sup>3</sup> - inter amicos, Pliny Y Ep. vii 16<sup>4</sup> - inter amicos, Gaius i 44 - inter amicos, Treggiari op.cit. intro.3.
173. Isid. Etym. ix 4<sup>51</sup>.
174. St. Aug. Sermo 21<sup>6</sup>. R.G.Nisbet The festuca and the alapa of manumission JRS viii 1918 pl.
175. Pliny Y Ep. vii 16<sup>4</sup>.
176. Gaius iii 56. R.H.Barrow Slavery in the Roman empire London 1928 ch7; also D-S Libertus, PW Manumissio, Treggiari op.cit. intro.3.
177. Suet. Aug. 40<sup>3-4</sup>, Gaius i 18, 42-44. D-S Libertus, PW Manumissio, Barrow op.cit. ch7, Westermann op.cit. chl3, Balsdon LL ch3(5).
178. See Chapter Eight p207.
179. Varro LL vi 30 - and it was a bad omen if manumission took place on a dies nefastus, Livy xli 9<sup>11</sup> - dictator/consul/interrex/censor/praetor, Pers. 5<sup>88</sup> & Schol., Gaius iv 16, Schol. Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>75</sup>, Macr. i 16<sup>28</sup> - magistratum.
180. The 'liber esto' passages referred to above at n172 may be relevant here as well as in informal manumission: perhaps the master said 'liber esto' privately before formal manumission. Paul-Fest. pl49<sup>2-4L</sup> - master said 'Hunc hominem liberum esse uolo'; a strange formula at Fest. p296<sup>30-32L</sup>.
181. Paul.-Fest. pl49<sup>2-4L</sup>.
182. Petr. 38 - est tamen sub alapa, Phaedr. Fab. ii 5<sup>25</sup> - alapae, Schol. Pers. 5<sup>78</sup> - alapa percussos, Claud De IV cons. Hon. 616-7 - pulsata fronte ... // in ciuem rubuere genae, Sedul. Carm. Pasch. v 103 - alapis, Sidon. Carm. ii 545-6 - uerbera malae, Isid. Etym. ix 4<sup>43</sup> - alapa percussos; cf Quint. Inst. vii 7<sup>9</sup> - manus (of master) iniectio sit.
183. Onians ppl29-130, 145-6.
184. As Barrow op.cit. ch7, Nisbet op.cit.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 185 - CHAPTER FIVE 199

185. Pers. 5<sup>75-6</sup>, also Schol. Pers. 5<sup>78</sup> - eos alapa percussos circumagebant, App. BC iv 135 - Labeo, after defeat of Brutus' army, Isid. Etym. ix 4<sup>48</sup> - circumagebant, CIL x 3147 = ILS 8263 - circumuersos. D-S Vindicta.
186. As Barrow op.cit. ch7 or Nisbet op.cit.?
187. Cic. Top. 10 - testamento, Dion. Hal. iv 24<sup>6</sup>, Petr. 71, perhaps Mart. ix 87 - tabellae signed by witness, Gaius i 17, ii 267 - set words, Boet. Cic. Top. 10, CIL x 3147 = ILS 8263, CIL x 7452 = ILS 8377 - injunction to dying man's father to free his alumnus and his slave, ILS 1985, Cod. Just. vii 6<sup>5</sup>. D-S & PW Manumissio, Barrow op.cit. ch7, Treggiari op.cit. intro.3.
188. Cic. Ad Att. iv 15<sup>1</sup>. Samter FF ch3, D-S Libertus, PW Libertini, Balsdon LL ch3.
189. Plaut. Epid. 725-7. D-S Libertus.
190. See Chapter Four pp88 & 102.
191. Cic. Ad Att. v 20<sup>5</sup>, Tac. H iii 78. A.S.Hoey Rosaliae signorum HThR xxx 1937 pl5.
192. Eg Laberius: a mime mentioned by Gell. xvi 7<sup>11</sup>, Macrobius. D-S Saturnalia.
193. Auson. Ecl. 23<sup>15</sup>, Macr. i 10<sup>18-22</sup>.
194. Varro De agr. i 34, Verg. G i 210-1, Geopon. ii 14<sup>3</sup>. Warde Fowler p268, PW Saturnalia, P.Braun Les tabous des 'Feriae' Ann.soc. 1959 p49.
195. Macr. i 10<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>7</sup>. Latte p254.
196. Justin. Epit. Hist. Phil. xliii 1<sup>3</sup>, Anth Lat. 395<sup>47</sup> = Filocalus Cal., Macr. i 7<sup>26</sup>. PW Saturnalia, Braun op.cit., Photeine B.Pourboulis Ancient festivals of 'Saturnalia' type Thessalonike 1964 chA2.
197. PW Saturnalia, Rose RGR p296.
198. Varro LL v 64 - ab satu, Fest. p432<sup>9-20</sup>L - a sationibus. Warde Fowler p268 - from Sätturnus?, Rose RGR p225 - Etruscan family name, Radke - from sa- root if not from sāta, Latte pl37 - not from sāta.
199. Dion. Hal. vi 1<sup>4</sup>, Livy ii 21<sup>2</sup>, Fest, p432<sup>9-11</sup>L, Macr. i 8<sup>1</sup>. Warde Fowler p268, Radke Saturnus, Latte p254, Ogilvie on the Livy passage.

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 200 - CHAPTER FIVE 218.

200. Dion. Hal. vi 1<sup>4</sup>, Fest. p430<sup>30</sup> - 432<sup>2</sup>L, Macr. i 7<sup>24</sup> & 36.
201. PW Saturnalia, who insist that the Italian Saturnalia was not sinister. For a sinister psychological basis for Saturnalian festivals see Pourboulis op.cit. chA 1-2.
202. Tert. Apol. 9 - infants sacrificed in Africa!, Lact. Inst. i 21.
203. Fest. p432<sup>2</sup>L, p462<sup>28-29</sup>L, Macr. i 8<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>22</sup>, Serv. Aen. iii 407.
204. Warde Fowler p268, M.P.Nilsson Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes ARW xix 1916-9 p50, D-S Saturnalia, PW Saturnalia, Radke Saturnus, Latte p254.
205. ILS 8745 Menolog. rust. Colot., ILS 8744 Fasti Maff., ILS 4917, Macr. i 10<sup>2</sup> & 10<sup>18</sup> & 23. Warde Fowler p268, De Marchi ch3(4), PW Saturnalia.
206. Paul.-Fest. p76<sup>17-19</sup>L, Macr. i 11<sup>50</sup>. Nilsson op.cit., D-S & PW Saturnalia.
207. Macr. i 10<sup>2&4&23</sup>.
208. Suet. Cal. 17.
209. Mart. iv 88<sup>2</sup>, vii 53<sup>2</sup>, xiv 79 & 141.
210. Strangely 7 in Mummius fr. 2-3 (CRF) & Novius fr. 104 (CRF) = Macr. i 10<sup>3</sup>, Mart. xiv 72, Lucian Sat. 2, Macr. i 10<sup>2</sup> & 24, 11<sup>50</sup>.
211. Livy xxii 1<sup>19</sup>. D-S Saturnalia, Latte p242 n2 & p254.
212. Livy xxii 1<sup>19-20</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 6<sup>43-4</sup>, Macr. i 10<sup>18</sup>. Latte p254.
213. Livy xxii 1<sup>20</sup>, Petr. 58, Mart. xi 2<sup>5</sup>, Pliny Y Epist. ii 17 - festis clamoribus, Dio lx 19<sup>3</sup>, Macr. i 10<sup>18</sup>.
214. Lact. Inst. vi 20, Auson. Ecl. 23<sup>33-6</sup>. D-S Saturnalia.
215. Mart. xi 2<sup>1-4</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, Pliny Y Epist. viii 7, Epict. Diss. iv 1<sup>58</sup>, Suet. Aug. 32<sup>3</sup>, Lucian Sat. 2, 13<sup>13</sup>, cf Tert. Apol. 42. D-S & PW Saturnalia, Braun op.cit.
216. Ovid F iii 58 and Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>4-5</sup>, also Sen. Epist. ii 18<sup>4</sup>, Pliny Y Epist. ii 17, Maximus of Turin Hom. 103.
217. Lucian Sat. 13<sup>13-14</sup>; cf Suet. Aug. 75.
218. Mart. xi 6<sup>4</sup>, xiv 1<sup>2</sup> and Sen. Epist. ii 18<sup>3</sup>. D-S Pileus & Saturnalia, FW Pilleus & Saturnalia, Braun op.cit.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 219 - CHAPTER FIVE 232

219. Tac. A xiii 15, Lucian Sat. 13<sup>13</sup>.
220. Sen. Epist. ii 18<sup>2</sup>, Mart. vi 24 - eccentric to wear the toga, xiv 1<sup>1</sup>, 141.
221. Cic. Ad Att. xiii 52<sup>1-2</sup>, Petr. 44, 69 - sham dinners, Plut. QR 34, Sen. Epist. ii 18<sup>2</sup>, Lucian Sat. 2, Anth. Lat. 286 praef., Maximus Turin Hom. 103. H. Seyrig Sur une mosaïque récemment découverte à El-Djem Comptes rendus Ac. Inscr. Belles-Lettres 1955 p521 - a ridiculous dinner scene may be the Saturnalia.
222. Cic. Ad Att. xiii 52<sup>1-2</sup>, Cato RR 57 - slaves on farms got more wine, Hor. Sat. ii 3<sup>5</sup>, Sen. Epist. ii 18<sup>4</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 6<sup>4-7</sup>, Mart. v 84<sup>4-5</sup>, xiii 1<sup>4</sup>, xiv 1<sup>9</sup>, Lucian Sat. 2, Anth. Lat. 286 praef., Maximus of Turin Hom. 103.
223. Sen. Apocol. 8<sup>2</sup>, Epict. Diss. i 25<sup>8</sup>, Lucian Sat. 4. See PW Saturnalia, who think he might have been sacrificial elsewhere but not in Italy, Pourboulis op.cit. ch42, who suggests he was a substitute king to deceive nasty spirits, Balsdon LL ch3.
224. Cic. Ad Att. xiii 52<sup>2</sup>, Plut. De mus. 1131c, Anth. Lat. 286 praef.
225. Mart. x 17<sup>3</sup> xiii 1<sup>4</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 6<sup>4-7</sup>.
226. Mart. iv 14<sup>7-9</sup>, v 30<sup>8</sup>, v 84<sup>1-4</sup>, xi 6<sup>2</sup>, xiii 1<sup>5-7</sup>, xiv 1<sup>3&12</sup>, Tac. A xiii 15, Suet. Aug. 71, Lucian Sat. 2, 13<sup>18</sup>, Anth. Lat. 286 praef.
227. Warde Fowler p268 & D-S Saturnalia; but Latte p254 - to thank masters.
228. Varro LL v 64, Paul.-Fest. p47<sup>27-28</sup>, Macr. i 7<sup>32-33</sup> - given because they were a symbol of enlightenment or because they were cheap for clients to give, 11<sup>49</sup>, Anth. Pal. vi 249.
229. Suet. Claud. 16, Nero 28, Gell. ii 3<sup>5</sup>, v 4<sup>1</sup>. According to Balsdon LL ch3 the Sigillaria was first in the Colonnade of the Argonauts and later in a colonnade of Trajan's Baths.
230. Macr. i 11<sup>1&49</sup>. D-S Saturnalia suggest that these took the place of human sacrifice.
231. Suet. Claud. 5, Auson. Ecl. 23<sup>31-33</sup> - Sigilla here, Macr. i 10<sup>24</sup>.
232. Sen. Epist. i 12<sup>3</sup> - given by master to uerna, Mart. iv 46 - given to lawyer by clients, iv 88<sup>4</sup> - given by client, Hist. Aug. Hadr. 17 - emperor gave to, and received from, his friends, Carac. 1 - emperor as boy received from his parents and gave them to clients and teachers, Aurel. 50 - given by emperor to wife and daughter.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 233 - CHAPTER FIVE 242

233. Cat. 14<sup>12-15</sup> - book, Cic. Ad Att. v 20<sup>5</sup> - booty for soldiers, Mart. v 18<sup>1-4</sup> - napkins, spoons, paper, damsons, book, iv 88 - silver, napkin, tunny pickle, figs, olives, iv 46 - far, beans, incense, pepper, sausages, must, fig jelly, bulbs, snails, cheese, olives, set of cups, napkin, v 30<sup>6</sup> - poems, v 84<sup>7</sup>, vii 53 - writing tablets, toothpicks, sponge, napkin, cup, beans, olives, must, figs, prunes, silver, vii 91 - nuts, viii 41<sup>1</sup>, x 17<sup>1</sup>, x 29<sup>1</sup> - dish, xii 81 - cape, capers, xiv 1<sup>6-8</sup>, xiv 70 - pig, 72 - sausage, 79 - whips, Pliny Y Epist. iv 9<sup>7</sup>, Suet. Aug. 75 - clothing, gold, silver, unusual coins, rough covers, sponges, shovels, tongs, Claud. 5, Vesp. 19<sup>1</sup>, Lucian Sat. 13<sup>15-16</sup> - book, Jerome In Ephes. iii 6<sup>4</sup> (666).
234. Geopon. i 1<sup>9</sup>, 5<sup>3</sup>, PW Saturnalia, J.R.Crawford De bruma et brumalibus festis ByzZ xxiii 1914/9 p365, Hoey op.cit., Latte p362.
235. Auson. Dom. 5 p24-26 Peiper, and Ovid F i 63-76 - the poet's prayer.
236. Ovid F i 127-130. See Meslin intro.2.
237. Plaut. Stich. 459-61 & 672 - strena & omen, Ovid F i 185-9 - sweet things as a good omen, i 189 & 221 - gold coin (bronze earlier), Mart. viii 33<sup>11-12</sup> - gilt date & as given by poor client, xiii 27 - gilt date given by poor, Sen. Ep. 87<sup>3</sup> - figs, Fest. p 410<sup>21-27</sup>L - strenae given ominis boni gratia, Herod. i 16<sup>2</sup>, Tert. De idol. 10 & 14 - strenae, Jerome Comm. ad Eph. iii 6<sup>4</sup> - Kalendarium strenam given by poor, Lyd. De mens. iv 4 - in the old days they gave figs & strenae = laurel leaves, later cakes & gold.
238. Ovid Ibis 65-66 - ill wishes given to an enemy, Pliny NH xxviii 22 - laetis precatationibus, Herod. i 16<sup>2</sup>.
239. CIL x 8053<sup>5</sup>.
240. Tert. De idol. 14, Ambrose Hom. 7, St. Aug. Hom. 198 - with disgusting singing and dancing, Isid De. eccl. off. i 41 - with drunken dancing.
241. Martin of Braga De corr. rust. 16. Nilsson op.cit., L.D.Johnston The lares and the kalends log CPh xxxiv 1939 p342, S.Weinstock Fortuna Viscata Homm.A.Grenier iii Bruxelles-Perchem 1962 pl644.
242. Ps. Aug. Hom. 129 & 130, Maximus of Turin Hom. 16, Isid. De eccl. off. i 41.

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 243 - CHAPTER FIVE 259

243. Rose RGR pp297-8.
244. Cic. Ad Att. vii 7 - at his Alban villa.
245. Gell. x 24<sup>3</sup>; Serv. G ii 383 - feriae compitaliciae, Macrobian. i 16<sup>6</sup> - conceptivae. See Latte p91 nl.
246. Cic. Ad Att. ii 3 - 1 Jan. in 59BC, In Pis. 8 - 1 Jan. in 55BC, Ad Att. vii 7 - 2 Jan. in 49BC, Anth. Lat. 395<sup>1-2</sup> - January is month of Lares.
247. Tib. i 10<sup>27-8</sup>.
248. Prop. iv 3<sup>57</sup>.
249. Pigs at Tib. i 10<sup>26</sup> & Prop. iv 1<sup>23</sup>; lambs at Prop. iv 3<sup>61</sup>. Bulard RD ch2.
250. Prop. iv 3<sup>62</sup>.
251. Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>3</sup> - honey-cakes, Prop. iv 3<sup>58</sup> & Anth. Lat. 395<sup>1-2</sup> - incense, Cata. 13<sup>27</sup> & Pers. 4<sup>29</sup> - wine, Pers. 4<sup>30-1</sup> - far and salt.
252. Cata. 13<sup>27</sup>. Bulard RD ch2.
253. See Chapter Four pp90-91.
254. See Chapter Four p91.
255. CIL vi 10248. FW Paterfamilias; and see Chapter Four p91.
256. IIS 8744 Fasti Maff., Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup>, Corp. Gloss. Lat. vi 635.
257. Ovid F v 429-444. Warde Fowler pl06, Samter GHT ch4 & 16, Rose RGR ppl81-2, Cumont complementary notes 5, Vetter op.cit., Latte p99.
258. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup>, Epod. 5<sup>91-102</sup> - nocturnus ... Furor, Pers. 5<sup>185</sup> & Schol. - nigri, Apul. De deo Soc. 15<sup>152</sup>, Apol. 64, St. Aug. CD ix 11, Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup>, Mart. Cap. ii 162-3, Corp. Gloss. Lat. vi 635. See Cumont chl(4), E.Jobbé-Duval Les morts malfaisants 'larvae, lemures' Paris 1924 ch2, Latte p99 nl, Radke Lemures.
259. Also Varro in Non. pl35<sup>13-16</sup>M - fabam iactant noctu ac dicunt se Lemurios domo extra ianuam eicere, Paul.-Fest. p77<sup>24-27</sup>L - beans; cf the Pythagorean view that beans contained the souls of the dead: Pliny NH xviii 118. This is evidence of archaic religious formulae: Jobbé-Duval op.cit. ch8, S.Ferri Osservazioni archeologico-antiquarie al 'carmen in lemures' Studi on. U.E.Paoli Florence 1955 p289.

## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 260 - CHAPTER FIVE 274

260. Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup> - instituted by Romulus.
261. Ovid F v 487-490, Plut. QR 86, Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup>.
262. Varro LL vi 19.
263. See Chapter Two p33.
264. See Chapter Three p75, Chapter Seven ppl98-9 and Chapter Eight p211.
265. Dio li 19<sup>7</sup>. See Chapter Three p76.
266. Cato De agr. 2<sup>1</sup>, Colum. i 8<sup>20</sup>.
267. Cato De agr. 143<sup>1</sup>.
268. See Chapter Eight p210.
269. Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>142</sup> - wife & children, Tib. i 10<sup>23-24</sup> - daughter, Val. Max. iii 3<sup>1</sup> - nobilissimi pueri attend Alexander, Suet. Otho 6<sup>2</sup> - O attends Galba, Fronto Epist. ad M. Caes. iv 6 - M. Caesar attends his father. De Marchi ch2(2).
270. Bulard RD chl, Nilsson.
271. Cic. Verr. II iv 18 - prope cotidiano, Suet. Galba 4<sup>3</sup> - menstruis ... supplicationibus, Hist. Aug. Alex. Seu. 29<sup>2</sup> - every day except after sleeping with his wife. See also Chapter Three p77.
272. Not: Plaut. Aul. 16-22 - 3 generations of neglect. Dedications to gods: CIL i 972 - by a freedman to the Bona Dea, i 982 - by a freedman to Hercules Celer, i 1002 - altar showing Maia & Mercury dedicated by 2 free and 1 freedman magistri pagorum, i 1430 - by a freedman to Juno Sospes, i 1508 - by a man & a freedman to Concordia, i 1617 - by a freedman to Hercules, vi 6 - by a couple to Aesculapius, vi 10 - by a couple to Aesculapius for their alumna, vi 30962 - (La)ribus Augustis.
273. Val. Max. i 2<sup>3</sup> & Plut. Sulla 29<sup>6</sup>. See Chapter Two p26 for other examples.
274. Eg CIL i 792 - to 2 adult sons, i 1412 - parents & wife, i 1223 - with wife to son, i 1221 - freedman to wife, i 1547 - patronus to friend, i 1570 - with parents to freedwoman wife, i 2135 - patronus to freedwoman, viii 3002 (Num.) - to alumnus/freedman, viii 21815 (Maur.) - to wife, viii 22927 (Byz.) - to sister, viii 22928 (Byz.) - to adult alumna, xii 3996 (Gall. Narb.) - to sister, IIS 2244 (Germ. Inf.) - to brother.



NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 275 - CHAPTER FIVE 286

275. CIL ix 2100 - by freedman, pro salute et reditu.
276. CIL i 761, i 781 - by wife, i 1227 - by freedwoman mother, i 1259 - by freedwoman, CIL v 5172 = IIS 8553 - dedicator not mentioned, CIL viii 2394 (Num.) - by alumnus, x 7461 (Sic.) - by sister, x 7462 (Sic.) - by a friend, xii 3585 (Gall. Narb.) - by his heir.
277. Petr. 71. Freed couples in particular would often make their own arrangements since they tended to be childless: eg CIL i 1220, 1248, 1274, 1638.
278. Since the Romans valued the good fortune of having been born: Mart. ix 52, Juv. 12<sup>1</sup>.
279. Ovid Trist. iii 13<sup>2</sup>, v 5<sup>13</sup>, Tib. i 7<sup>63</sup>, ii 2<sup>1</sup>, iv 5<sup>19</sup>; cf Tib. iv 6<sup>1</sup> - Natalis Iuno. See W.F.Otto Die Manen Darmstadt 1958 p75.
280. Donat. Ter. Phorm. 49.
281. Paul.-Fest. p283<sup>5-6</sup>L.
282. Plaut. Pseud. 161-4 - house and silver cleaned, Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>6-7</sup> - house shining with silver, Prop. iii 10<sup>20</sup> - house shining with flames.
283. Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>6-7</sup> - with verbenā, Ovid Trist. iii 13<sup>14</sup>, v 5<sup>9-10</sup>.
284. Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>3-5</sup> - wreathed with ivy, Tib. i 7<sup>51-52</sup> & ii 2<sup>6-7</sup> - wreaths and unguent, Prop. iii 10<sup>13-14</sup>, Juv. 5<sup>36-7</sup>.
285. Hor. Sat. ii 2<sup>60-61</sup>, Ovid Trist. iii 13<sup>14</sup>, Prop. iii 10<sup>13-14</sup>. In general see De Marchi ch3(4), Helen C.Bowerman The birthday as a commonplace of Roman elegy CJ xii 1916-17 p310.
286. Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>144</sup> - flowers and wine, Sat. ii 2<sup>60</sup> - wine, Od. iii 17<sup>14-15</sup> - wine, Od. iv 11<sup>1-2</sup> - wine, Tib. i 7<sup>53-4</sup> - incense and honey-cakes, ii 2<sup>3-4</sup> - incense, ii 2<sup>8</sup> - cake and wine, iv 5<sup>9</sup> - incense, iv 6<sup>1</sup> - incense, iv 6<sup>14</sup> - cake and wine, Prop. iii 10<sup>19</sup> - incense, Ovid AA i 429 - cake, Am. i 8<sup>94</sup> - cake, Trist. iii 13<sup>16-17</sup> - incense and cakes, Trist. iv 10<sup>12</sup> - cakes, v 5<sup>11-12</sup> - incense and wine, Pers. 2<sup>3</sup> - wine, Pliny NH xviii 84 - far, Stat. Silv. ii 7<sup>16-17</sup> - incense, Mart. x 24<sup>4-5</sup> - cakes and incense, Censor. De die nat. 2<sup>1-3</sup> - wine rather than a blood-offering.



## NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 287 - CHAPTER FIVE 294

287. Hor. Od. iii 17<sup>14-15</sup> - a piglet, iv 11<sup>8</sup> - a lamb, Stat. Silu. ii 7<sup>16-17</sup>, Juv. 11<sup>84-5</sup> - sometimes in the good old days.
288. Bulard RD chl.
289. Pers. 1<sup>16</sup> - sardonix gem, Petr. 30 - dinner dress given by a client, Mart. vii 86<sup>6-8</sup> - a toga, lamps or a quantity of silver, x 87<sup>3-7</sup> - wishes, a candle, a writing-tablet and serviettes given by clients, Juv. 9<sup>50-51</sup> - a sunshade and amber balls, Apul. Apol. 9 - a poem and garlands given by the poet to his boyfriend, Julianus Anth. Lat. (Riese) i 638 - good wishes.
290. Tib. i 7<sup>49</sup> - ludo & choreis, Ovid Ex Ponto iv 9<sup>116</sup> - ludi, Censor. De die nat. 12<sup>1&2&5</sup> - music.
291. Plaut. Capt. 174-5, Persa 769-770, Cic. Phil. ii 6<sup>15</sup>, Prop. iii 10<sup>21</sup>, Sen. De ira ii 33<sup>4</sup>, Mart. vii 86<sup>1</sup>, x 27 - a dinner at which a sportula was handed out, xi 65<sup>1-2</sup>, xii 60 - the dinner is a burden, Plut. Cat. Min. 2<sup>5</sup>, Brut. 40<sup>2</sup>, Juv. 11<sup>82-85</sup> - a family feast, Gell. xix 9<sup>1</sup>, Auson. Epist. 5<sup>47-49</sup>, Symm. Ep. vi 81, Serv. E 3<sup>76</sup> - licence for pleasure, Zosim. ii 423. Cf Tib. iv 8<sup>1-2</sup> - a birthday without a friend is horrid.
292. Hor. Od. iv 11<sup>14</sup> - Ides of April, Prop. iv 5<sup>36</sup> - Ides of May, Mart. viii 64<sup>4</sup> - a man keeps lots of birthdays per year: natalicias Kalendas, x 24<sup>1</sup> & ix 52<sup>2-3</sup> & xii 60 - Kalends of March (Martian's birthday), x 87<sup>1</sup> - Kalends of October, ix 52<sup>2-3</sup> - Kalends of April, xii 67<sup>3</sup> - Ides of October (Vergil's birthday). But not Cic. Ad Att. vii 5<sup>3</sup> - III Non. Ian.
293. Ovid Trist. v 5 - Ovid in exile celebrates his wife's birthday.
294. Hor. Od. iv 11 - H and Phyllis celebrate Maecenas' birthday, Tib. i 7 - T celebrates Messala's birthday, ii 2 - he celebrates a friend's, iv 5<sup>1-2</sup> - he celebrates a friend's birthday, Stat. Silu. ii 7<sup>1</sup> - he celebrates Lucan's birthday, Mart. iv 1<sup>1-4</sup> - he celebrates Domitian's birthday, vii 21-3 - poems for Lucan's birthday, ix 52 - a birthday poem for his friend Quintus, Pliny Y Ep. vi 30 - P celebrates another's birthday, Fronto Ep. ad M. Caes. ii 10 - wishes for the emperor's mother sent by letter, iii 9<sup>1</sup> - the emperor prays for Fronto on Fronto's birthday, Gell. xv 7<sup>3</sup> - friend celebrates Gellius' birthday. See D.M. Pippidi Le 'numen Augusti' REL ix 1931 p83 for celebrations of the emperor's birthday.

NOTES : CHAPTER FIVE 295

295. Mart. xii 67<sup>3</sup>, Pliny Y Ep. iii 7; also Juv. 5<sup>36-37</sup> - Thrasea & Helvidius celebrate the birthdays of the Bruti & Cassius, Suet. Dom. 10<sup>3</sup> - Salvius Cocceianus celebrates his uncle Otho's birthday after his death, Dio xlvii 18<sup>5</sup> - everyone celebrates the dead Caesar's birthday.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 1 - CHAPTER SIX 16

1. Wagenvoort ch5.
2. Eg Pliny NH vii 64-6, xxviii 77-80.
3. Plut. QR 85, cf Rom. 15<sup>4</sup> - the Sabine women were only to spin (& not to cook).
4. Plut. QR 9 & 65, also Paul.-Fest. p104<sup>5-8</sup>L - in the past a man seeking a criminal in someone's house had to enter lance et licio so as not to see the women. See Rose & Jevons on Plut. QR 9 & 85, also Rose PC ch7, E.Peruzzi Origini di Roma I La famiglia Firenze 1970 ch6.
5. Cato De agr. 83. Wagenvoort ch5, Latte pp83 & 382.
6. Plut. QR 60 & Rose, Gell. xi 6<sup>2</sup>, Macr. i 12<sup>28</sup> - with explanatory legend, cf Tert. Ad nat. ii 7 - at Lanuvium women do not taste the Herculeum polluctum.
7. Paul.-Fest. p72<sup>10-12</sup>L, and Latte p382.
8. Gell. xi 6<sup>2</sup>.
9. Warde Fowler ppl03 & 143; but Latte pp214 & 382 simply attributes this to Greek custom. See also D-S Tunones, Balsdon RW chl2.
10. Ovid F iv 145-50 - incense offered, Plut. QR 74 - temple attributed to Servius Tullius, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p235 Fasti Praen. 1 April, Lyd. De mens. iv 65. Warde Fowler pp67-68, Latte pl81, Gagé chlb - Fortuna became degraded. See below ppl50-1 for Venus Verticordia.
11. Polyb. vi 11a<sup>4</sup>, Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>6</sup> gives Romulus' law, Plut. QR 6, Lyc.-Numa 3<sup>5</sup>, Val. Max. ii 1<sup>5</sup>, vi 3<sup>9</sup>, Pliny NH xiv 89-90, Gell. x 23<sup>1</sup> & 4, Tert. Apol. 6<sup>4</sup>, Arnob. ii 67 - referring to the present, Serv. Aen. i 737. See also Chapter Three pp71-72.
12. Val. Max. ii 1<sup>5</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>300</sup>. Balsdon RW chl0.
13. Pliny NH xiv 116 - sometimes causes miscarriage. M.Durry Les femmes et le vin REL xxxiii 1955 pl08 following Soranus, the detailed 2nd century writer on pregnancy.
14. Polyb. vi 11a<sup>4</sup>, Plut. QR 6, Pliny NH xiv 90, Gell. x 23<sup>1</sup>, Tert. Apol. 6<sup>5</sup>, Arnob. ii 67.
15. Rose on QR intro.(5).
16. Livy xxvi 19<sup>6-7</sup>, Lucian Dial. mort. 13<sup>390</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 17 - CHAPTER SIX 34

17. Plut. Rom. 2<sup>3-5</sup>. Raglan ch9.
18. Verg. Aen. vii 678-81, x 543-4, Solin. ii 9, Serv. Aen. vii 678, Mart. Cap. vi 642.
19. Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>1-3</sup>, Ovid F vi 631-4, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Arnob. v 18.
20. Gell. iv 1<sup>3-4</sup>.
21. See Chapter Seven ppl88-9.
22. H.J.Rose De virginibus Vestalibus Mnem. liv 1926 p440, Wagenvoort ch5 & 6.
23. See below ppl49-150.
24. Livy xxvii 37<sup>8-10</sup>, xxxi 12<sup>9</sup>. And see below ppl47-8.
25. Serv. Aen. iii 139 - Iunoni procreationem liberorum.
26. So Ernout-Meillet, Latte pl04, Radke Iuno. See also M.Renard Aspects anciens de Janus et de Junon RBPh xxxi 1953 p5.
27. Varro LL v 69, Paul.-Fest. p397<sup>4-6</sup>L.
28. Onians ppl30 & 232-3.
29. H.J.Rose Iuno and eyebrows Folklore xlvii 1936 p396.
30. Latte pl05. Renard op.cit. regards the state Juno as a development from the personal Juno, a view for which there is no evidence.
31. Tib. iv 6<sup>1</sup>.
32. CIL ii 4415 (Hisp.) = ILS 8059 - to the Venus, an alternative to the Juno, CIL vi 8958 = ILS 1784, CIL vi 20385 = ILS 8058, CIL vi 24745 = ILS 8056, CIL viii 251 (Africa) = ILS 3123 - an image of a daughter as Juno, CIL x 1009 = ILS 8055, CIL x 1023 = ILS 8053, CIL xiv 1792 = ILS 8057 - Iunoni & Verecundiae.
33. Tib. iv 6<sup>13</sup> - Iuno purpurea palla. Only 3 Junos at Pompeii: Boyce 349, 331, & 489.
34. Bulard RD chl2, and O.Walter Eine Marmorstatuette römischer Zeit in Athen OJh xliii 1958 pl00. Also FA 1959 no2854.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 35 - CHAPTER SIX 46

35. Tib. iii 6<sup>48</sup> - J + Venus, iv 6<sup>1</sup> - girl, iv 13<sup>15</sup>, Sen. Epist 110<sup>1</sup> - everyone, Petr. 25, Pliny NH ii 16 - singuli, CIL v 160, 6954, 7237, vi 2128 = ILS 4923, CIL vi 8958 = ILS 1784 - uerna, CIL viii 1140, 3695, xi 1324 = ILS 3645, xii 3063-6 (Gall. Narb.).
36. CIL v 160, v 6954, v 7237 - to master, mistress, son & daughter, viii 1140 (Carthage), viii 3695 (Num.) - a dedication by a wife to her husband's Genius & her own Juno, CIL xi 1324 = ILS 3645, CIL xii 3063-6 (Gall. Narb.).
37. Tib. iii 6<sup>47-9</sup> - by her Juno & Venus, iv 13<sup>15</sup>, Lygd. 6<sup>48</sup> - by Juno & Venus, Petr. 25, Juv. 2<sup>98</sup> - by the Juno of an effeminate man.
38. St. Aug. CD iv 11, vii 2.
39. St. Aug. CD vii 2 & 3, Macr. i 15<sup>18-20</sup>. Warde Fowler p38, Latte pl07. On Juno in general see also D-S Juno, Renard op.cit., Gagé p64-65, EAA Giunone, Latte ppl04-6, Radke Iuno.
40. Plaut. Amph. 831-2 - materfamilias, Cas. 230 - Jupiter's wife, Livy xxvii 37<sup>7-12</sup> & xxxi 12<sup>9</sup> - Regina, Ovid F vi 33-4 - matrona Tonantis, Pliny NH xxxv 115 - Regina, Jupiter's wife, Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>6</sup>L - matronae Iunonis Curitis in tutela, Serv. E 8<sup>30</sup> - matrona, Aen. viii 84 - Juno Curetis/Matrona/Regina.
41. Cic. Phil. ii 44 - stolam dedisset = married, Tib. i 6<sup>68</sup>, Ovid AA i 31, ii 600, Pont. iii 3<sup>52</sup>, F iv 134, Trist. ii 248, Val. Max. vi 1 pr., Paul.-Fest. pl12<sup>26</sup>L, CIL i 1570 - hic me decoraat stola = marries.
42. Plaut. Mil.glor. 791-3 - ex matronarum modo, //capite compto, crinis uittasque habeat, adsimuletque se //tuam esse uxorem, Tib. i 6<sup>67-8</sup>, Prop. iv 11<sup>34</sup>, Ovid AA i 30 - uittae tenues, insigne pudoris, AA iii 483, Pont. iii 3<sup>51</sup>, F iv 134, Rem. am. 386, Trist. ii 247, Serv. Aen. vii 403, Isid.Etym. xx 124. D-S Vitta, Gagé ch3a.
43. Val. Max. v 2<sup>1</sup> - purpurea ueste et aureis uti segmentis also.
44. Ovid Met. xi 682, Tib. i 1<sup>67-8</sup>, Livy xxiv 9<sup>7</sup> - in public lamentation, Sen. Med. 803, Juv. 6<sup>164</sup> - when supplicating.
45. Varro LL vii 44.
46. Livy xxxiv 7<sup>10</sup> - aurum taken off in mourning, Suet. Jul. 84 - matrons' ornamenta thrown on Caesar's pyre.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 47 - CHAPTER SIX 53

47. Gell. xviii 6<sup>4-5</sup>, 7 disagrees with Melissus that the matrona was mother of 1 child & the mf of several, Paul.-Fest. pll2<sup>27-30</sup>L - mf must not be widow or childless, Serv. Aen. xi 476 - opinion of some that a woman becomes a matrona after 1 child, Isid. Etym. ix 5<sup>8</sup> - ditto.
48. Cic. Top. 14, Gell. xviii 6<sup>8-9</sup>, Isid. Etym. ix 5<sup>8</sup>, ix 7<sup>13</sup>. The materfamilias was a woman married by coemptio, which comes to the same thing, since it was by this method that she usually came into her husband's manus: Serv. Aen. xi 476 & xi 581, Boeth. Cic. Top. 14. Balsdon RW ch9.
49. See Chapter Four p84.
50. See Chapter Four p84.
51. Cf awfulness of infertility: Juv. 2<sup>137-42</sup> - male 'brides', Gell. iv 3<sup>2</sup> & xvii 21<sup>44</sup> - Ruga's divorce, CIL vi 1527 = ILS 8393 i 41-6 - Turia.
52. Plaut. Cist. 78-9, Merc. 824, Most. 226, Ter. Heaut. 392, Cat. 111<sup>1-2</sup>, Verg. Aen. iv 28-29, 550-2, Prop. i 2<sup>26</sup> - in a quasi-married relationship, ii 1<sup>47-48</sup>, iv 11<sup>36</sup> & 38, Mart. xi 53<sup>7</sup>, Minuc. Felix Oct. 31<sup>5</sup>, Tert. De monog. 13 & 17, De pud. 16, Ad ux. 1, De exhort. cast. 4&5, Serv. Aen. iv 166, CIL iii 3572 (Pann. Inf.)-unicuba & uniuga, vi 7732, 14404, viii 26673 = Carm. ep 1872 (Africa), CIL ix 2272 = Carm. ep. 1523<sup>7-8</sup>, Carm. ep. 652<sup>7</sup> (AD368), 736<sup>3</sup>. Woman specifically called uniuira: Pollio Tyr. trig. 32, Tert. De exhort. cast. 11 & 13, De uirg. uel. 9, De monog. 8 & 17. FW Matrimonium, G. Williams Some aspects of Roman marriage ceremonies and ideals JRS xlviii 1958 pl6. The point was perhaps partly that the uniuira was completely free of the pollution of death.
53. Val. Max. ii 1<sup>3</sup>.
54. See below n483.
55. Macr. i 15<sup>19</sup>.
56. Paul.-Fest. p60<sup>1-4</sup>L.
57. CIL x 6640 = ILS 3338 (AD85), CIL x 1074 = ILS 5053.
58. Ovid F i 536, Dio lx 5<sup>2</sup>, CIL x 7501 = ILS 121 (Malta) - sacerdos Augustae.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 59 - CHAPTER SIX 74

59. Tac. A xvi 21-22, CIL xi 1331 = ILS 233. Cf also Cicero's virtual deification of Tullia: Cic. Ad Att. xii 18-20, 36-37 etc. See Balsdon RW ch12.
60. Pollio Tyr. trig. 32, Tert. De exhort. cast. 13, Serv. Aen. iv 29.
61. Tac. A ii 86.
62. Livy x 23.
63. Dion. Hal. viii 56<sup>4</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>18-22</sup>L, Tert. De monog. 17, Serv. Aen. iv 19.
64. Tert. De monog. 17.
65. Livy xxxiv 5<sup>8</sup>, Serv. Aen. viii 638. Gag  chlc, Balsdon RW ch10.
66. Gag  ch2 passim: their status apparently derived from the Sabines, their efficacy from their fertile propriety.
67. Livy xxii 56<sup>4</sup> & xxxiv 6<sup>15</sup>; also Livy xxiv 9<sup>7-8</sup> - ploratus mulierum in 211 BC.
68. Val. Max. v 2<sup>1</sup> - uitta & also purpurea uestis with gold bands, as above pl44.
69. Dion. Hal. viii 55, Livy xxxiv 1<sup>3</sup> - cult prohibited by the Lex Oppia of 215 BC, xxxiv 8<sup>3</sup> - repealed in 195 BC, Val. Max. v 2<sup>1</sup>. See below pl49.
70. Livy v 23<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>3</sup> - ingenti matronarum studio. Gag  chlc & 2a, Latte pl68.
71. Livy xxii 1<sup>18</sup> - 217 BC, xxvii 37<sup>8-10</sup> & xxxi 12<sup>9</sup>. Gag  ch2a.
72. Livy v 25<sup>8</sup>, Fest. pl38<sup>27-36</sup>L, Paul.-Fest. pl39<sup>1-4</sup>L, p282<sup>25-28</sup>L. Gag  ch3b; & see further ch3c on Juno Moneta and the interpretation of aurum Gallicum and aurum matronarum. The point of the contribution was the gold, and not money, since the women were paid for their gold. Was the gold a mark of their status as matronae or as worshippers of the goddess? Cf also the story of ransom gold at Livy xxxiv 5<sup>9</sup>.
73. Livy v 25<sup>9</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>25-8</sup>L, Isid. Etym. xx 12<sup>4</sup> - quibus matronae olim utebantur.
74. Livy xxix 14, xxxiv 5<sup>10</sup>, Ovid F iv 293-346, Val. Max. i 8<sup>11</sup> - Claudia's statue in the temple, Sil. Ital. xvii 15-45, Pliny NH vii 120, Suet. Tib. 2<sup>3</sup>, App. vii 56. However she is thought to be a Vestal Virgin at Herod. i 11<sup>4-5</sup>. Gag  ch2c.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 75 - CHAPTER SIX 89

75. Obseq. 46 - thesaurum.
76. CIL vi 32323 = ILS 5050.
77. Tac. A xv 44.
78. Livy v 19<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, Ovid F vi 475-80, Plut. Cam. 5<sup>1-2</sup>; cf Livy vi 33<sup>4</sup> for a temple at Satricum. The temple was rededicated by Camillus in 396 BC.
79. Lucr. v 656-7, Cic. Tusc. i 28, ND iii 48, Ovid F vi 475-561, Priscian Inst. ii 53, Serv. Aen. v 241, Non. p92L, St. Aug. CD xviii 14, Hygin. 2<sup>5</sup>, 224<sup>5</sup>.
80. Latte p97. See also Warde Fowler p154, H.J.Rose Two Roman rites CQ xxviii 1934 p196, Gagé ch4a; Radke Matuta prefers a connection with manus = good to other possibilities.
81. Ovid F vi 559-61 - prolem, Plut. QR 17 & Cam. 5<sup>2</sup> - τέκνα, De frat. am. 21 (Mor. 492d) - παῖδας.
82. Ie children who were at the age of puberty and could be said to sororiare, cf Fest. p380<sup>25-32</sup>L. So Rose op.cit., and De religionibus antiquis quaestiunculae tres Mnem. liii 1925, 2 p407 and a note from Whatmough p413, Latte p97, Ogilvie on Livy v 23<sup>7</sup>, Radke Matuta being non-committal.
83. Gagé ch4a. Cf also Serv. Aen. v 241 - Liber pater ab Ino matertera eius esset nutritus. If it was after all the sisters' children who were prayed for, we have an unusual example of the widening of the family, since sisters belonged of course to their husbands' families.
84. Tert. De monog. 17.
85. Ovid F vi 481-2, 534-558 with explanatory myth, Plut. QR 16, Cam 5<sup>2</sup>. Warde Fowler p154, and see also Chapter Eight p202.
86. Varro LL v 106, Ovid F vi 476, 482, 531-3.
87. Dion. Hal. viii 55<sup>3</sup>, Livy ii 40<sup>12</sup>, Val. Max. i 8<sup>4</sup>, v 2<sup>1</sup>, Plut. Cor. 37<sup>2</sup>.
88. Gagé ch1b & 2a, and what is more he sees them as representing two classes of women, matronae and uirgines/nouae nuptae.
89. Dion. Hal. viii 55<sup>3-5</sup> - the first sacrifice performed on 1 December 486, the temple dedicated on 6 July shortly afterwards, Livy ii 40<sup>12</sup> & Ogilvie, Val. Max. i 8<sup>4</sup> - est Latina uia ad quartum miliarium, v 2<sup>1</sup>, Plut. Cor. 37<sup>2</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>13-22</sup>L - statue at 4th milestone.



NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 90 - CHAPTER SIX 103

90. Dion. Hal. viii 56<sup>2</sup>, Plut. Cor. 37<sup>3</sup>.
91. Val. Max. i 8<sup>4</sup>, also Dion. Hal. viii 56<sup>2-3</sup>, Plut. Cor. 37<sup>3</sup>, St. Aug. CD iv 19. Gagé ch1b.
92. Dion. Hal. viii 56<sup>4</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>13-22</sup>L, Serv.Aen. iv 19. Radke Fortuna, Latte pl31.
93. Cic. De har. resp. 37 - Bona, Plut. Cic. 19<sup>3</sup> - Γυναικεύα, QR 20 - wife of Faunus, Lactant. Inst. i 22 - Fatua/wife of Faunus, Macr. i 12<sup>21</sup> - Maia = terra/Fauna/Ops/Fatua, 12<sup>22</sup> - Fatua, 12<sup>23</sup> - Proserpina/Xθονύα 'Εκδίτη /Semele, 12<sup>24</sup> - Fauna, 12<sup>26</sup> - Medea, 12<sup>29</sup> - Maia!, Paul.-Fest. p60<sup>1-4</sup>L - Damia. Radke Bona Dea.
94. Cic. De har. resp. 37 and Ovid F v 153; also Ovid AA iii 637, Macr. i 12<sup>26</sup>.
95. Ovid F v 153-7. Warde Fowler pl01-3.
96. Plut. QR 20, Macr. i 12<sup>25</sup> - uinum in templum eius non suo nomine soleat inferri, sed uas, in quo uinum inditum est, mellarium nominetur, et uinum lac nuncupetur, Lactant. Inst. i 22 with explanatory myth; but Juv. 2<sup>87</sup> - wine offered in celebration in house (but this is very satirical), also Juv. 6<sup>315</sup>. Milk was an old rustic offering: Warde Fowler pl03, Radke Bona Dea.
97. Plut. QR 20 - myth of Faunus beating his daughter with a myrtle rod, Macr. i 12<sup>25</sup>, Lactant. Inst. i 22 with myth. Warde Fowler pl03-4 suggests that it may have been a relic of beating to induce fertility.
98. Macr. i 12<sup>26</sup>. Warde Fowler pl04-5, Gagé ch2c.
99. Juv. 2<sup>86</sup> - sacrificed in the house, Macr. i 12<sup>23</sup>.
100. Cic. De har. resp. 37, Dio xxxvii 35, Plut. Caes. 9<sup>4</sup>, Cic. 19<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>1</sup>. Warde Fowler p255-6, PW Matrona, Radke Bona Dea, Latte p228-230, Balsdon RW ch12.
101. Cic. De har. resp. 37, Plut. QR 20, Caes. 9<sup>4</sup>, Cic. 28<sup>1</sup>, Juv. 2<sup>88-89</sup>.
102. Vestal Virgins: Cic. Ad Att. i 13<sup>3</sup>, De har. resp. 37, Dio xxxvii 35, Plut. Cic. 19<sup>4</sup>. Matronae: Plut. Cic. 19<sup>3-4</sup>, 28<sup>1</sup>, Juv. 2<sup>84-5</sup>, Gagé ch2c - probably upper-class matronae.
103. Cic. De leg. ii 21, Plut. Caes. 9<sup>4</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>314-7</sup> - an orgy, Lactant. Inst. i 22.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 104 - CHAPTER SIX 118

104. Cic. De har. resp. 37, also Cic. De leg. ii 21, Ad Att. i 12<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>, Dio xxxvii 35.
105. Cic. Ad Att. i 12<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>.
106. Ovid F iv 160, also Ovid F iv 156-9, Val. Max. viii 15<sup>12</sup> - quo facilius uirginum mulierumque mens a libidine ad pudicitiam conuerteretur, Serv. Aen. i 720. Warde Fowler p67-69, Gagé ch1b, 2c, 3b, 4c, Radke Verticordia, Latte pl85.
107. Val. Max. viii 15<sup>12</sup>, Pliny NH vii 120.
108. Gagé ch4c.
109. Ovid F iv 133-56 - matronae & unmarried women, Macr. i 12<sup>15</sup> - matronae (from Verrius Flaccus), CIL i<sup>2</sup> p262 Fasti Phil. (AD 354), Lydus De mens. iv 65 - αἱ σεμναί.
110. Ovid F iv 139, 151-4, Plut. Numa 19<sup>2</sup>, Lydus De mens. iv 65 - humbler women bathed in the men's baths.
111. Ovid F iv 139-44 with explanatory myth, Plut. Numa 19<sup>2</sup>, Serv. Aen. viii 636 - from the surrounding myrtle grove, connected with Murcia, Lydus De mens. iv 65 - humbler women, with various reasons.
112. Plut. QR 74. Warde Fowler p68, Gagé ch1b; against this Latte pl81.
113. Ovid F iv 145-50, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p235 Fasti Praen., Lydus De mens. iv 65 - said to be the rite for Venus Verticordia.
114. As partly by Ovid, and apparently completely by Lydus. Warde Fowler p68, Latte pl81 n3.
115. Fest. p282<sup>18-22</sup>L - eam quidam Fortunae esse existimant.
116. Livy x 23 - sacello, Juv. 6<sup>308</sup> - ueterem ... aram, Fest. p282<sup>18-22</sup>L - signum.
117. Livy x 23, Fest. p270<sup>16-19</sup>L.
118. Livy x 23 - eodem ferme ritu et haec ara quo illa antiquior culta est, ut nulla nisi spectatae pudicitiae matrona et quae uni uiro nupta fuisset ius sacrificandi haberet. According to Gagé ch2b this may indicate that the plebeians had formerly had a different ideal of marriage. Radke Pudicitia; Latte p239 identifies Pudicitia Patricia with a Fortuna.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 119 - CHAPTER SIX 132

119. Livy x 23.
120. Ovid F vi 395-8. This is the interpretation of Warde Fowler pl48 and Latte pl10; but Radke Vesta rightly thinks that little enough about the woman's actions can be deduced from the Ovid passage.
121. Non. p368L.
122. Gell. iv 3<sup>3</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p248<sup>3-6</sup>L. D-S Juno, Matrimonium.
123. Livy xxii 1<sup>18</sup>. For Feronia see Chapter Eight p208.
124. Serv. Aen. i 720. Latte p55 n3, Radke Salacia.
125. Hor. Epist. i 2<sup>44-45</sup>, Livy xlii 34<sup>3</sup>, Tac. A xii 6, Prud. C. Symm. i 258 - fertile bride pregnant by another; cf Mart. xii 42<sup>6</sup> & Juv. 2<sup>137-8</sup> - unfortunately male 'brides' cannot have children.
126. Plaut. Most. 281, also Plaut. Aul. 159, Stat. Silu. ii 7<sup>33-86</sup> - perfect bride, Tert. De exhort. cast. 12.
127. Plaut. Aul. 153, 191-2, 238-9, Most. 281, Pomponius in Non. p208L, Petr. 74, Juv. 3<sup>160-1</sup>, 6<sup>138-9</sup>, Suet. Jul. 1; cf Tert. De exhort. cast. 12 - virtuous woman paupertate dotatam.
128. Plaut. Aul. 174, 238, 256-8, Trin. 374-8, 639-694, Varro RR iii 16<sup>2</sup>, Livy xlii 34<sup>3</sup>, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>10</sup>.
129. Val. Max. iv 4<sup>10</sup> - and for the daughter of Fabricius Luscinus too, Sen. De cons. Hel. 12<sup>6</sup>; also Tac. A ii 86 - the emperor provided a dowry for Agrippa's daughter.
130. Plaut. Aul. 148-150, Capt. 889, Ennius in Fest. p312<sup>11-14</sup>L, Cat. 61<sup>66-67</sup>, Val. Max. vii 7<sup>4</sup> - a woman penalised by Aug. for remarrying without any intention to have children and also in order to disinherit her sons, Muson. Ruf. 13a Hense, Quint. Inst. v 2<sup>42</sup>, Decl. 247, St. Aug. CD xiv 18, Sermo 51<sup>22</sup>, 278<sup>9</sup>. PW Matrimonium, H.A. Sanders A Latin marriage contract TAPA lxix 1938 pl04.
131. Paull. Sent. ii 19<sup>1</sup> - inter puberes et impuberes. D-S Matrimonium, Balsdon RW ch7.
132. Dio liv 16<sup>7</sup>, Suet. Aug. 34<sup>2</sup>, St. Aug. Confess. vi 13. PW Nuptiae.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 133 - CHAPTER SIX 144

133. Suet. Aug. 63, and also Cat. 62<sup>60-62</sup>, Livy iii 47<sup>6-7</sup>, xxxviii 57<sup>6-8</sup>, Ovid F vi 221, Mart. vi 8, Plut. Ti. Gracc. 4<sup>1</sup>, Suet. Claud. 27<sup>2</sup> - he engaged Antonia and Octavia each to two men, Apul. Met. iv 26, vi 9 - patre non consentiente however, Ambrose De Abr. i 9<sup>91</sup>, Macr. i 6<sup>29</sup>. Balsdon RW ch7, and see Chapter Five pl25.
134. Plaut. Aul. 269, Curc. 663, Poen. 1279, Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup> - dote inter auspices consignata & similarly 29<sup>3</sup>, Tac. A xv 37, Mart. xii 42<sup>5</sup>, Apul. Met. x 24, Hist. Aug. Marc. 9, Dig. xxiii 2<sup>38</sup>. A dea selecta Afferenda mentioned by Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>12</sup> was supposedly ab afferendis dotibus ordinata. Radke Afferenda.
135. Polyb. xxxi 27<sup>1-4</sup>. They were the daughters of Scipio Africanus the Elder, sisters of his son P.Cornelius Scipio, aunts of his adopted son Scipio Africanus the Younger.
136. Plaut. Aul. 26-27 - hoard of gold, Sen. Phoen. 508-9 - treasure and land; cf Verg. Aen. vii 318 for Lavinia's dowry of the blood of men killed in war.
137. Sanders op.cit.
138. Plaut. Trin. 1158 - 1000 gold Philippics, Polyb. xxxi 27<sup>1-4</sup> - dowries paid in 2 instalments by Scipio's mother & himself, Val. Max. iv 4<sup>10</sup> - 40,000; Dotata's 50,000; 100,000 brought by Caeso's daughter Tuccia, Tac. A ii 86 - Agrippa's daughter's 100,000, Juv. 2<sup>117</sup> - 400,000, Gell. iv 3<sup>2</sup> - security given for dowry in case of divorce, Macr. i 6<sup>29</sup> - sponsores ... poscerentur. PW Nuptiae.
139. Sen. De cons. Hel. 12<sup>6</sup> - pantomimes' daughters, Petr. 74, Mart. ii 65<sup>5</sup>, xi 23<sup>3</sup> - in gold, xii 75<sup>8</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>137</sup>, 10<sup>335</sup> - Messalina.
140. See Chapter Five pl17.
141. Pliny Y Epist. v 16 - clothes and jewels, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 56<sup>1</sup> - shocking extravagance.
142. Gell. ii 24<sup>7</sup> & 24<sup>14</sup>.
143. Plaut. Aul. 294-5, 384, Apul. Apol. 88.
144. Plaut. Mil. glor. 957-960 - ring sent as arrabo by woman, Hist. Aug. Maxim. 27<sup>7</sup> - Junia Fadilla had as arrae a pearl necklace, an emerald hairnet, a sapphire bracelet, clothes of cloth of gold, etc., Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>5-6</sup>; cf Jer. Epist. 147<sup>6</sup> - dotale pignus. PW Nuptiae, Sponsalia.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 145 - CHAPTER SIX 156

145. Plaut. Curc. 663 - friend, 671-4 - girl's brother, Trin. 689-94 - girl's brother, Polyb. xxxi 27<sup>1-4</sup> - Scipio Africanus the Younger responsible with mother for his aunts' dowries. Varro RR iii 16<sup>2</sup> - girl's brother, Suet. Aug. 64 - Aug. for his granddaughters, Apul. Apol. 68 - widow's father-in-law, Met. x 24 - brother.
146. Plaut. Mil.glor. 957-960 - a woman makes the first advance.
147. Cic. Ad Att. vi 6, Ad fam. viii 7.
148. Sen. De ben. iii 16<sup>2</sup>, and also Mart. vi 7 - ten husbands, Juv. 6<sup>225-230</sup> - eight husbands in five years!
149. Cf Ovid Met. xi 302 - nubilis at 14, Suet. Aug. 63 - Julia first married at 14; but Macr. vii 7<sup>6</sup> - puberty said to occur at twelve. M.K.Hopkins The age of Roman girls at marriage Pop. Stud. xviii 1964-5 p309-14 using the evidence of Roman doctors and inscriptions says that even fourteen might be too low an age except perhaps in the richest class.
150. Fest. p296<sup>18-20</sup> L - uiri potens, Dio liv 16<sup>7</sup>, Ulp. fr. 5<sup>2</sup> - uiripotens, Symm. Ep. vi 3 - uiro maturam, Macr. Somn.Scip. i 6, Just. Inst. i 10, CIL vi 3604. D-S Matrimonium, M.Durry Le mariage des filles impubères dans la Rome antique RIDA ii 1955 p263, Balsdon RW ch7.
151. Suet. Aug. 62 - married Claudia when uixdum nubilem. PW Nuptiae, Hopkins op.cit., Balsdon LL ch3.
152. Plut. Lyc.-Numa 4 - twelve or younger preferred for this reason.
153. Rose RGR ppl91-2, PC ch7 & 8, on QR intro.5; Gagé intro. & ch1a.
154. Ovid F vi 221-2 - tempora taedis // apta requirebam, quaeque cauenda forent. De Marchi ch3(1), Rose PC ch7.
155. Ovid F ii 557-62 - Parentalia, F v 487-90 - Lemuria, Plut QR 86 - May, for unlikely reasons and correct ones (purifications and offerings to the dead), Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup> - May and March because of the Lemuria = Parentalia!
156. Ovid F vi 223-5, 233-4.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 157 - CHAPTER SIX 170

157. Ovid F iii 393-4 - 1 March, Plut. QR 105 - ordinary feast days, Paul.-Fest. p187<sup>3-6</sup>L - Kalends, Nones & Ides, though he says that these were dies atri themselves, Macr. i 15<sup>21-22</sup> - likewise, with unlikely reasons, Porph. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>209</sup> - March. D-S Matrimonium, Balsdon RW ch7.
158. Varro quoting Verrius Flaccus in Macr. i 15<sup>21</sup>, Plut. QR 105 - with unlikely reasons. Rose on QR 105.
159. Ovid F v 487-8.
160. The paintings of the Villa Item at Pompeii, interpreted by J.Toynbee The Villa Item and a bride's ordeal JRS xix 1929 p67 as a prenuptial ordeal, surely portray initiation into mysteries, as K.Lehmann Ignorance and search in the Villa of the Mysteries JRS lii 1962 p62.
161. Varro in Non. p363 & 369L = Varro Sat. Men. p212 Riese (reading manias for marinas). D-S Reticulum, Strophium, Balsdon LL ch3.
162. Schol. Pers. 2<sup>69-70</sup> - quaedam uirginitatis suae dona.
163. Arnob.ii 67 - togulas. Rose PC ch7.
164. Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>19</sup>L. Radke Camelae.
165. Gagé chla. See also Chapter Seven p193.
166. Prop. iv 11<sup>33</sup>, Fest. p284<sup>1-2</sup>L.
167. Verg. Aen. ii 168, Val. Flacc. viii 6 - uirgineis ... uittis, viii 7. D-S Vitta.
168. Pliny NH viii 194. D-S Matrimonium, Tunica, Gagé chla. See further on Tanaquil pl66 below.
169. Fest. p364<sup>21-25</sup> - ominis causa. D-S Reticulum.
170. Plaut. Cas. 86, Varro in Serv. Aen. iv 45, Cic. De diu. i 28 - quondam, Verg. Aen. iv 60-64 - Dido seeks auspices, Val. Max. ii 1<sup>1</sup> - apud antiquos, Pliny NH x 21 - a type of hawk was a good augury, Serv. Aen. i 346 - in past, iv 45, 56, 58, 340; but Serv. Aen. iv 166 - Tellus named in auspices, girls sacrificed to her in Servius' own day. De Marchi ch3(1), D-S Matrimonium.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 171 - CHAPTER SIX 180

171. Suet. Claud. 26<sup>2</sup>, also Varro in Serv. Aen. iv 45, Cic. Pro Cluent. 14 - nullis auspicibus rather awful!, De diu. i 28, Val. Max. ii 1<sup>1</sup> - nuptiis etiam nunc auspices interponuntur, qui, quamvis auspicia petere desierint ..., Tac. A xi 27, xv 37, Quint. Decl. 291, Juv. 10<sup>336</sup>, Symm. Ep. vi 3, Serv. Aen. iv 166. P.Noailles Fas et jus, études de droit romain: 2) Junon, dēesse matrimoniale des Romains 1948 p29, Latte p264 n2.
172. Cic. De diu. i 104, also Verg. Aen. vii 259-60 - prayer for the fulfillment of the gods' augury, Prop. iii 20<sup>24</sup>, Val. Max. i 5<sup>4</sup> - Caecilia, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>229-30</sup>, Prud. C.Symm. i 262 - deum sortes & Apollinis antra.
173. Ter. Phorm. 705-10, Verg. Aen. vii 58 - bad omens prevent the marriage of Lavinia & Turnus.
174. Cic. Pro Cluent. 14, Ovid Met. vi 428-34, Her. 2<sup>115-120</sup>, Prop. iv 3<sup>13-16</sup>, Sen. Troad. 861-3.
175. See H.J.Rose De uirginibus Vestalibus Mnem. liv 1926 p440.
176. Pliny NH viii 194, Isid. Etym. xix 22<sup>18</sup>.
177. Pliny NH viii 194 - toga pura, Lucan ii 362 - fluxos gemmis ... amictus, 364 - suppara also, Juv. 2<sup>124</sup> - segmenta et longos habitus.
178. Lucan ii 362 - balteus, Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>13-18</sup><sub>L</sub> - in the past a woollen cingillum tied in a Herculean knot was a symbol of the man's union with her and their ability to produce children, p55<sup>20-22</sup><sub>L</sub> - cingulum. D-S Junones, Matrimonium, Nodus, Baldson RW ch7.
179. Lucan ii 362 - gems on clothes, 363 - necklace, Val. Flacc. viii 236 - gems.
180. Ovid F ii 560 - hasta recurua, Plut. QR 87, Rom. 15<sup>5</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>3-12</sup><sub>L</sub> - caelibari hasta which had killed a gladiator, in the past, Arnob. Adu.gent. ii 67 - caelibari hasta, Tert. De uirg. uel. 12 - acu lasciuiore, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 284 - acu. The various reasons given by Plutarch and Paulus-Festus are symbolic and unlikely: Rose on QR 87, Samter GHT ch3, M.Cary & A.D.Nock Magic spears CQ xxi 1927 pl22, Wagenvoort ch5, Baldson RW ch7; but Samter in FF ch4 thinks that her hair was originally cut off as an offering! The hair was of course associated with procreation: Onians p232 n4.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 181 - CHAPTER SIX 189

181. Fest. p454<sup>23-27</sup>L - senis crinibus; cf Plaut. Most. 226 - hair done (no details). The six ringlets can often be seen on sarcophagi: Rossbach chl; Rose PC ch7.
182. Varro LL vii 44, Fest. p484<sup>32</sup> - 486<sup>2</sup>L - Flaminica's headdress or priest's pilleus. D-S Tutulus, Balsdon RW ch7.
183. Prop. iv 3<sup>16</sup>, ll<sup>34</sup>, Juv. 6<sup>50</sup> - Cereris uittas. Rossbach chl, D-S Vitta, Onians p447 - the headband signifying her new fate, Balsdon RW chl3.
184. Paul.-Fest. p56<sup>1-3</sup>L, also Cat. 61<sup>6-7</sup> - marjoram, Lucan ii 358-9 - turrita ... corona, Val. Flacc. viii 235 - coronam. Rossbach chl & 5.
185. Cat. 61<sup>8</sup>, 61<sup>122</sup>, Pliny NH xxi 46, Lucan ii 361, Sen. Oct. 702, Petr. 26, Mart. xii 42<sup>3</sup>, Tac. A xv 37, Juv. 2<sup>124</sup>, 6<sup>225</sup> & Schol., 10<sup>334</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 33, Fest. pl74<sup>24-25</sup>L, Paul.-Fest. p79<sup>23-25</sup>L, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 285, Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>4</sup>, De cons. Stil. ii 358; but a white veil at Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>67</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.); cf Tib. ii 2<sup>18</sup> - flava ... uincula, Val. Flacc. viii 234 - croceo subtegmine uestes. Rose op.cit. De uirginibus, R.Schilling Le flammeum, voile sacré, voile profane summary REL xxxiv 1956 p67 - the Christians took over the red veil too. FW Nuptiae seems to go off the rails when assigning the flammeum to weddings by confarreatio only.
186. Lucan ii 361 - uelarunt flammea uultus, Mart. xii 42, Tert. De uirg. uel. 11 & 12, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>10</sup>. Brides not veiled in art: Rossbach chl, 3 & 5, EAA Dextrarum iunctio.
187. Samter FF ch4 - taking the bride as a sacrificial victim! See rather Rose on QR intro.5, Onians pl53. Also Paul.-Fest. p79<sup>23-5</sup>L - for a good omen because the Flaminica wore it, Schol. Juv. 6<sup>225</sup> - propter ruborem custodiendum!
188. Cat. 61<sup>10</sup>, cf 61<sup>167</sup>, perhaps also Tib. ii 2<sup>18</sup> - flaua ... uincula. Onians p246.
189. Cic. Pro Flacco 84, Gaius i 113, Serv. G i 31, Aen. iv 103 & 214, Boeth. Cic. Top. 14 - giving legal formulae pronounced by man and woman, Isid. Etym. v 24<sup>6</sup> - antiquitus. FW Matrimonium, Balsdon RW ch7.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 190 - CHAPTER SIX 203

190. XII Tables 6<sup>4</sup>, Cic. Pro Flacco 84, Gaius i 111, Serv. G i 31. PW Matrimonium, E.Volterra La conception du mariage à Rome RIDA ii 1955 p365, Balsdon RW ch7.
191. Raglan ch11, also Latte p96, Balsdon RW ch7.
192. Noailles op.cit.
193. Pliny NH xviii 10, also Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>2-3</sup> - γάμους ἱεροῦς, Tac. A iv 16 - frequent patrician marriage in ancient times, Apul. Met. v 26, Gaius i 112, Ulp. fr. 9<sup>1</sup>, Serv. G i 31, Aen. iv 103 & 339.
194. Tac. A iv 16, Gaius i 112.
195. Gaius i 112, Serv. Aen. iv 103 & 339 - Flamen and Flaminica, referring to the present, Aen. iv 374 - likewise, referring to the past, Boeth. Cic. Top. 14. Balsdon RW ch7, S.Weinstock Divus Julius Oxford 1971 ch14(4).
196. Tac. A iv 16 - omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter paucos retenta, CIL x 6662 = IIS 1455 - time of Commodus; and the evidence in n195 above. Tiberius' law eased the conditions for the Flaminica by rendering her in her husband's power only with regard to sacra: Tac. A iv 16. PW Matrimonium, Balsdon RW ch7.
197. Gaius i 112, Ulp. fr. 9<sup>1</sup>, Serv. G i 31. De Marchi ch3(1), G.von Lücken Zu römischen Hochzeitssarkophagen Alt. ii 1956 p28 - 10 togati on a 3rd century sarcophagus are probably witnesses.
198. Gaius i 112 - certis et sollemnibus uerbis, Ulp. fr. 9<sup>1</sup>.
199. Only Ulp. fr. 9<sup>1</sup> - sollemni sacrificio facto, but perhaps it went without saying.
200. Serv. Aen. iv 374, also Plut. QR 31 perhaps and Paul.-Fest. pl02<sup>1-3</sup>L - the bride only.
201. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>2</sup>, Pliny NH xviii 10, Gaius i 112, Ulp. fr. 9<sup>1</sup>, Serv. G i 31 - fruges et molam salsam. Rose PC ch7; Wagenvoort ch6 - by sharing the far the bride may have shared in the mana of her husband and his gens.
202. Gaius i 112, Noailles op.cit.
203. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>3</sup>. See Chapter Five pl21.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 204 - CHAPTER SIX 215

204. Ulp. fr. 5<sup>2</sup>, Just. Inst. i 10, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>21</sup>. D-S Matrimonium, Volterra op.cit., Hopkins op.cit.
205. Quint. Inst. v 11<sup>32</sup> - mente coeuntium, Decl. 247 - in matrimonium tradita, i.e. with intention to marry, Ulp. fr. 5<sup>2</sup> - otherwise their parents consented if they were in potestate. D-S & PW Matrimonium, Volterra op.cit.
206. Plaut. Trin. 689-691 - an arranged dowry desirable as proof of marriage, Quint. Inst. v 11<sup>32</sup> - (by implication) usual but not necessary. Volterra op.cit.
207. Apul. Met. vi 9, also Quint. Decl. 306 - comitante populo, Tac. A xi 30 - matrimonium Silii uidit populus et senatus et miles. PW Nuptiae.
208. Cat. 62<sup>26-29</sup>, Tac. A xii 5, Quint. Decl. 247, 306, Calp. Flacc. 44, Gaius i 111 - in familiam uiri transibat, Paulus Sent. ii 19<sup>8</sup> - femina absens nubere non potest, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>66</sup>; cf Sen. Contr. vii 6<sup>8-9</sup>. PW Matrimonium, Volterra op.cit. - as indicating the wish to be married.
209. Lactant. ii 10, also Ovid AA ii 597-8.
210. De Marchi ch3(1), Raglan ch11.
211. Noailles op.cit., H. Le Bonniec Le culte de Cérès à Rome Paris 1958 ch3(2).
212. Juv. 6<sup>225</sup>; cf Tac. A xii 5 - celebrare sollemnia nuptiarum, A xv 37.
213. Varro LL v 72 - ab nuptu, id est opertione, ut antiqui, a quo nuptiae, nuptus dictus, Fest. p174<sup>20-25</sup> L gives various derivations - νυμφεῖαν = γάμον (Santra), noua coniugia (Connificius), noua ratio (Curiatius), caput nubentis obuoluatur, quod antiqui obnubere uocarint (Aelius & Cincius), Paul.-Fest. p201<sup>4-5</sup> L, Ambrose De Abr. i 9<sup>93</sup>, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>10</sup>; but Non. p 208L - nubere used of men too.
214. Samter FF ch4, Ernout-Meillet Nubo; according to P. Kretschner Zur griechischen und lateinischen Wortforschung 2. nubo Glotta i 1909 p325 as obnubo is late nubo cannot derive from it and an IE root 'give oneself' must be supposed; Walde-Hofmann Nubo offers both derivations.
215. But not in abnormal circumstances, eg at Cic. Pro Cluent. 14 where a mother marries her son-in-law.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 216 - CHAPTER SIX 224

216. Plaut. Aul. 270.
217. Apul. Met. iv 26, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>61</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.).
218. Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 209.
219. Ovid Met. iv 763 - pulchroque instructa paratu, Juv. 6<sup>227-8</sup>, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 211-2.
220. Cat. 64<sup>292-3</sup> - entrance, Ovid Met. iv 760 - house, Sen. Phoen. 506-7 - house, Lucan ii 354 - threshold, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>230-1</sup> - house & door, Juv. 6<sup>51-52</sup> - door, 6<sup>227-8</sup> ditto, Schol. Juv. 6<sup>79</sup> - (referred to marriage from Juvenal's allusion to birth celebrations) door, Apul. Met. iv 26 - house, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 202 - house with flowers, 208 - door, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>60</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.) - house. Cf Rossbach ch3 - a couple shown inside a garlanded house on two sarcophagi.
221. Prop. iv 3<sup>16</sup> - nupsi non comitante deo: an ill-omened marriage, Sen. Oct. 700 - tura cum superis dares, Lucan ii 353 - deos ... testes, Aug. CD iv 21 - diis nuptialibus, iv 34 - diis coniugalibus. De Marchi ch3(1).
222. Ceres: Juv. 6<sup>50</sup> - Cereris uittas, Paul.-Fest. p77<sup>21-23</sup>L - torch in honorem Cereris. Tellus: Verg. Aen. iv 166, Serv. Aen. iv 166. Rossbach chlc - symbols of Ceres on gems, Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2).
223. Verg. Aen. iv 59 - Iunoni ... cui uincla iugalia curae, iv 166 - Pronuba, Ovid Her. 6<sup>43</sup> - Pronuba, Met. vi 428 - Pronuba, ix 762 - Pronuba, ix 796, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>239-40</sup> - dat Iuno uerenda uincula, Paul.-Fest. p92<sup>29-30</sup>L - Iuga, Serv. Aen. iv 16 - Iugalis, iv 45 - Pronuba, iv 58, iv 59 - Curitis/Régina/Pronuba, iv 166 - Pronuba, Mart. Cap. i 31 - Pronuba, ii 147 - Pronuba, ii 149 - Juno prayed to. Rossbach chla - the crowned pronuba on sarcophagi is Juno, chlb - Juno on coins of Antoninus Pius, ch4-6 - Juno Pronuba on sarcophagi; as EAA Dextrarum iunctio says, the pronuba in art could also be identified as Concordia; D-S Juno, Noailles op.cit., Radke Pronuba; Latte pl07 says that Juno was not concerned with a virgin's marriage, which may have been true originally.
224. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>12</sup> - Mutunus et Tutunus, Apol. 25<sup>3</sup> - Mutunus, Lactant. i 20<sup>36</sup> - Tutinus, Arnob. iv 11 - Mutuno ... atque Tutuno, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - Mutunus uel Tutunus; cf St. Aug. CD iv 34 - cultu Priapi.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 225 - CHAPTER SIX 230

225. Sydenham pl07 - MT on a coin type of Q.Titius 88BC; H.Herter De Mutino Titino RM lxxvi 1927 p418 - mutio = the power involved in defloration, Tutunus being formed on the pattern of Mutunus and probably a god of the Titinii, MT like Priapus on Q.Titius' coins; H.J.Rose on F.Altheim Griechische Götter im alten Rom Giessen 1930 in Gnom. vii 1931 p 26 - a tito is like a Genius, MT the family deity of the Titii Mutones; R.Turcan Priapea MEFR lxxii 1960 pl67 shows how Priapus was confused with MT; Radke Mutunus Tutunus and Tutunus derives both names from words of similar meaning (mutto/mutio/mutonium and tutulus/titus); Latte p96.
226. Lactant. i 20<sup>36</sup>, St. Aug. CD vi 9, vii 24, and of course the evidence afforded by his very name.
227. Paul.-Fest. pl43<sup>10-11</sup>L.
228. Varro in Non. p848L, Serv. Aen. ix 4 quoting Varro.
229. Hymen: Cat. 61 & 62 passim, Ovid Her. 6<sup>44</sup> - sertis tempora uinctus Hymen, 12<sup>137</sup>, 12<sup>143</sup>, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>238</sup>. Hymenaeus: Cat. 61 & 62 passim, Ovid Met. iv 758, vi 429, ix 762, 796, Her. 12<sup>143</sup> - Hymen Hymenaeae shouted, F ii 561, Mart. iv 13<sup>2</sup>, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 202, Epith. Pal. & Cel. 30-33, Serv. E 8<sup>30</sup> - aetiological myth of H as an Athenian youth who lost his voice by singing, Aen. i 651 - myth, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>22</sup>. Rossbach ch1a & 3-6 - H on sarcophagi; Weinstock op.cit. ch5(2) - H derived from the Greek wedding cry.
230. Verg. Aen. iv 168 - Nymphae, Ovid. Met. iv 758 - Amor, vi 429 - Gratia, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>4</sup> - deae (Nymphs), i 2<sup>240</sup> - Concordia, Mart. iv 13<sup>7</sup> - Concordia, 13<sup>8</sup> Venus, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 202 - Gratia, 203 - Concordia, Epith. Pall. & Cel. 124 - Venus, Serv. Aen. iii 139 - Venus, Mart. Cap. i 31 - Suada, ii 147 - Concordia, Fides, Pudicitia. Cf Verg. Aen. vii 319 - Bellona pronuba at Lavinia's wedding (owing to Juno's curse), Ovid Her. 2<sup>117-9</sup> - ill-omened Tisiphone & Allecto, Met. vi 429-30 - ill-omened Eumenides. Rossbach ch1a - Eros, ch1c - symbols of Abundantia, Liberalitas, Concordia & Pax on gems, ch3 - Venus, Hora, Fortuna & Roma (?) on sarcophagi, ch4 - Venus; Lücken op.cit. explains how vague symbolic deities like the Dioscuri, Earth or Oceanus appear on sarcophagi, especially 3rd century AD; EAA Dextrarum iunctio - Hymen & perhaps Concordia.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 231 - CHAPTER SIX 240

231. Plaut. Aul. 385-7 - the Lar gets an offering at a wedding; and their presence is no doubt implied in the general references to gods cited in n221 above.
232. Varro RR ii 4<sup>9-10</sup> - nuptiarum initio reges ac sublimes uiri in Etruria ... noua nupta et nouus maritus primum immolabant. D.Sabbatucci Di alcuni sacrifici romani alla luce del mito di Kore SMSR xxviii 1957 p53 sees in such a sacrifice a ritual preenactment of the consummation of the marriage; Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2) - the sacrifice could have been to Ceres or Tellus.
233. Plaut. Aul. 385-7, Ovid Met. iv 759, Val. Flacc. viii 248, Sen. Oct. 700-1 - the bride offers wine and incense, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>231</sup> - effulgent compita flammis, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 210, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>61</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.) - uotigerique ignes. Sacrifice in general. Ter. Phorm. 702, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>13</sup> - (Venus) sacra parat, Tac. A xi 27 - the bride sacrifices, Plut. Pomp. 55<sup>3</sup> - P sacrifices, Val. Flacc. viii 252 - sacra parant, Tert. De idol. 16<sup>3</sup>, Serv. Aen. iii 136 - apud ueteres neque uxor duci ... sine sacrificiis peractis poterat. Rossbach ch2 - sacrifice & dextrarum iunctio shown together on a late cippus in the Vatican, ch4 - an altar with fire sometimes portrayed with the bridegroom pouring a libation; De Marchi ch3(1).
234. Sen. Med. 38 - sacrificas preces, Val. Flacc. viii 243 - the couple pray, Mart. Cap. ii 37 - a bride's prayer.
235. Rossbach ch3-4, De Marchi ch3(1).
236. Noailles op.cit.
237. Cat. 61<sup>36-37</sup>, 61<sup>231</sup>. Rossbach ch3, ch5-6.
238. Fest. p282<sup>16-18</sup> L - adhibentur nuptis for a good omen, Tert. De exhort. cast. 13, Prudent. C.Symm. i 256, Serv. Aen. iv 166, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>69</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.), Sidon. Epist. i 5<sup>11</sup>, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>8</sup>.
239. Rossbach ch1a, ch3-6, Rose RGR p192.
240. Claud. Epith. Pall. & Cel. 129-30 - spoken by Venus; and perhaps Plaut. Cas. 815-7ff (attribution usually to the maid Pardalisca), Ter. Andr. 284-98, Cat. 61<sup>151-163</sup> according to Williams op.cit. who thinks that the words contained the archaic term morigera, originally referring to manus marriage.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 241 - CHAPTER SIX 248

241. Verg. Aen. iv 307 & 597 where dextera signifies the marriage pledge, Tert. De uirg. uel. 11, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 3<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>18</sup>, Epith. Pal. & Cel. 128, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>66</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.). Rossbach ch1a, ch2-3, ch5-6 - shown on sarcophagi, ch1b - dext. iunctio of imperial couples on coins from the time of Antoninus Pius, ch1c - on gems, ch1d - on clay lamps, etc., Lücken op.cit., EAA Dextrarum iunctio - a common theme from the end of the republic to about AD600.
242. Cf Tac. A xi 27 - illam audisse auspicum uerba. Williams op.cit. believes that the pronuba had this role.
243. See Chapter Five p118.
244. Plaut. Men. 119-122 - perhaps the husband's side of the contract and his duty to provide for his wife, Berlin Pap. 1052 = Select Pap. 3 (13BC) - intention to marry, dowry terms, marital duties, Tac. A xi 27 - to get children, St. Aug. Sermo 51<sup>22</sup> & 278<sup>9</sup> - ditto, Prud. C. Symm. i 258 - (by implication) ditto. Sanders op.cit. gives the usual form of contract: X filiam suam uirginem Y secundum legem Iuliam quae de maritandis ordinibus lata est liberorum procreandorum causa in matrimonium dedit sponditque Z dotis nomine filiae Y (& dowry).
245. Prop. iii 20<sup>17-18</sup>, Quint. Inst. v 11<sup>32</sup>, Tac. A xi 27, Juv. 2<sup>119</sup>, 10<sup>336</sup>, Apul. Apol. 88, St. Aug. Sermo 51<sup>22</sup> - recitantur in conspectu omnium attestantium, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>66</sup>. Sanders op.cit. - one papyrus has Greek signatures.
246. Juv. 2<sup>119</sup> - feliciter. Gifts given at Auson. Cento nupt. 58.
247. Ter. Phorm. 702, Pliny Y Epist. i 9, v 16, Suet. Claud. 26<sup>3</sup> - C and Agrippina attended the weddings of uncles to nieces, Symm. Ep. vii 19, Prud. C. Symm. i 257-8, Auson. Cento nupt. 13-14, Sidon. Epist. i 5<sup>10</sup>.
248. Plaut. Curc. 728, Cic. Ad Q. fr. ii 3<sup>7</sup> - at the house of the bridegroom, Cat. 62<sup>3</sup>, Ovid Met. iv 764, Pliny NH ix 117 - Lollia Paulina wife of Gaius was dressed to kill even at ordinary wedding banquets, Val. Flacc. viii 252, Tac. A xi 27, Juv. 2<sup>120</sup>, 6<sup>202-3</sup>, Apul. Apol. 88 - no dinner, which was unusual, Cypr. De hab. uirg. 18 - temulenta conuiuia, Auson. Cento nupt. 23 - wine, Epist. 5<sup>47-50</sup>, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 327-8, 344-6 - wine.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 249 - CHAPTER SIX 259

249. Lucan ii 370 - no guests, Juv. 2<sup>132-5</sup> - few guests because the wedding is scandalous, Apul. Met. vi 9 - sine testibus.
250. Tibia: Plaut. Cas. 799, Ter. Adel. 905, 907, Prop. ii 7<sup>11-12</sup>, Ovid Met. iv 760-1 - lyrae also, Her. 12<sup>139</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 33, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>30</sup>, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 56<sup>1</sup> - κύμβαλα also, Ad. Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>6</sup> - σὺνῳγος. Dancing: Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>58-9</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.), Joann. Chrys. Hom. 56<sup>1</sup> - Satanic dances!
251. Ter. Adel. 905, 907, Cat. 61 & 62, Ovid Met. iv 761, Her. 12<sup>137</sup>, 143, Sen. Troad. 861, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>6</sup> & 251, ii 7<sup>87-88</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 26, 33, Auson. Cento nupt. 12, 24, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 329, De cons. Stil. i 3, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>57</sup> & 59 Baehrens (Epith. Laur.).
252. Wedding hymns sung during the procession: Plaut. Cas. 799-800, Cat. 61<sup>12-13</sup>, 62<sup>4</sup>, Ovid Her. 12<sup>137</sup> & 143, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 48<sup>6</sup>.
253. Cat. 61<sup>119</sup>, 62<sup>1</sup> - Vesper adest, 62<sup>20</sup> & 26, 64<sup>328-9</sup>, Verg. E 8<sup>30</sup>, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>1-2</sup>, De raptu Pros. ii 361, Fest. p282<sup>22-5</sup>L, Joann. Chrys. Ad Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>6</sup>, Hom. 56<sup>1</sup>.
254. Cat. 61<sup>31</sup>, Sen. Med. 114 - turba, Petr. 26 - agmen, Lucan ii 352, Quint. Decl. 306, Fest. p364<sup>29-30</sup>L, Donat. Ter. Hec. 135, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 286, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>66</sup>, Sidon. Epist. i 5<sup>11</sup>, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 48<sup>6</sup>, 56<sup>1</sup>, Ad Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>6</sup>. Rossbach ch3 - wedding procession depicted on two sarcophagi.
255. Paul. Sent. ii 19<sup>8</sup>, Dig. xxiii 2<sup>5</sup>.
256. See Chapter Five pll8.
257. Cat. 61<sup>57-59</sup>, 61<sup>84-85</sup>, 62<sup>20-23</sup>, Verg. Aen. x 79 - gremiis abducere pactas, Fest. p364<sup>26-28</sup>L - rapi simulatur uirgo ex gremio matris, Claud. Epith. Pall. & Cel. 124-5. Rose on QR intro. 5, RGR p191.
258. Fest. p282<sup>22-25</sup>L; but Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>11</sup> - Venus conducts the bride. See Chapter Seven ppl96-7.
259. Varro in Non. pl61L - a noua nupta ignis in face adferretur a foco eius sumtus, cum fax ex spina alba esset et eam puer ingenuus anteferet, Petr. 26, Pliny NH xvi 75 - supposedly because spina was used in the rape of the Sabine women, whereas ordinary torches were of hornbeam or hazel, Fest. p282<sup>22-25</sup>L, p364<sup>29-34</sup>L, Paul.-Fest. p77<sup>21-23</sup>L - in honorem Cereris, Charis. Art. gramm. i 144K - (quoting Varro) fax ex

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 259 contd. - CHAPTER SIX 266

- 259 contd. spinu alba praefertur, quod purgationis causa adhibetur, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup> - cornel torches. Samter FF ch2 - whitethorn was supposed to have purificatory properties; Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2).
260. Rossbach chl.
261. Fest. p364<sup>29-34</sup>L - it was thought to presage death if either of the bridal couple kept it, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup> - his qui sunt potiti diutius feruntur uixisse. Latte p96.
262. Plut. QR 2 with various peculiar reasons; Rose thereon connects 5 with the hand.
263. Plaut. Cas. 118, Ter. Adel. 906, Cat. 61<sup>15</sup> - pineam ... taedam, 61<sup>77-78</sup>, 61<sup>98-99</sup>, 61<sup>121</sup>, Cic. Pro Cluent. 15, Verg. E 8<sup>29</sup>, Aen. iv 339, Ciris 439 - pronuba ... pinus, Ovid Trist. iv 5<sup>33</sup>, Met. iv 758, F ii 558 - pinea taeda, ii 561, v 487, vi 221, Her. 12<sup>138</sup>, Prop. iv 11<sup>33</sup>, Sen. Phoen. 507-8 - decorated with a uitta by the bridegroom's mother, Med. 37-38 - pronubam ... pinum, Ill, Oct. 695, Quint. Decl. 291 - legitimis facibus, Val. Flacc. viii 278, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>5</sup> - held by the Muses, ii 7<sup>82</sup> - taedis genialibus, Lucan ii 356 - legitimaeque faces, Mart. iii 93<sup>26</sup>, iv 13<sup>2</sup>, xii 42<sup>3</sup>, Tac. A xv 37, Calp. Flacc. Decl. 44, Juv. 6<sup>139</sup>, Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 202, In Ruf. i 83-84, Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 3<sup>4</sup>, De raptu Pros. 347, Prud. C.Symm. i 263, Symm. Ep. vii 19, Serv. Aen. iv 167, Joann. Chrys. Ad Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>6</sup>.  
Rossbach chl - torch very often held by Hymenaeus on sarcophagi.  
Allusion to funeral torch: Ovid Her. 2<sup>120</sup>, 6<sup>42</sup>, Met. vi 430, F ii 561-2, Prop. iv 11<sup>46</sup>.
264. Samter GHT ch5.
265. Good omen: Cat. 61<sup>77-78</sup>, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 3<sup>4</sup>.  
Bad omen: Prop. iv 3<sup>13</sup>, Sen. Contr. vii 6<sup>9</sup>, Apul. Met. iv 33, Serv. Aen. iv 167; cf Verg. Aen. iv 167 - lightning is a bad omen.
266. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>9</sup> - Domiduca, St. Aug. CD vi 9 - Domiducus, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - (Juno) Iterduca/Domiduca, Myth. Vat. 3<sup>3</sup> in Thes. Nou. Lat. - Iterduca. See D-S Juno, Radke Domiduca, Domiducus; also E. Bickel Der altrömische Gottesbegriff Leipzig & Berlin 1921 ch5 for the view that they were Etruscan gentile gods, and Noailles op.cit. that they were simply di certi.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 267 - CHAPTER SIX 277

267. Claud. Epith. de nupt. Hon. 286 - pompa sonat, Sidon. Epist. i 5<sup>11</sup> - pompa defremuit, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 56<sup>1</sup>. For the music see n250 & 252 above. Samter GHT ch4.
268. Cat. 61<sup>127</sup> and Varro in Non. p245L = Varro Sat. Men. p95 Riese; also Laberius in Gell. xvi 9<sup>4</sup> - naughty words used by a slave, Sen. Med. 113 - fescenninus, 114 - iocos, Contr. vii 6<sup>12</sup> - nuptiales fescenninos, Pliny NH xv 86 - nuptialium Fescenninorum, Lucan ii 368-9 - sales & conuicia festa, Petr. 26 - iocantium, Fest. p284<sup>1-2</sup>L - obscena, Calp. Flacc. Decl. 44 - fescennina, Paul.-Fest. p76<sup>6-8</sup>L - Fescennini uersus, Cyprian De hab. uirg. 18 - a shocked list, Auson. Cento nupt. 69 - uersibus incomptis ludunt, Claud. Fesc. de nupt. Hon. 4<sup>31</sup> - permissisque iocis, Prud. C. Symm. i 261 - fescennina, Serv. Aen. vii 695 - nuptialia carmina, Joann. Chrys. Hom. 56<sup>1-2</sup> - a shocked tirade, Ad Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>6</sup> - αἰσχρῶν ῥημάτων.
269. Varro in Non. p245L = Varro Sat. Men. p95 Riese, Fest. p284<sup>1-2</sup>L.
270. Livy i 9<sup>12</sup>, Plut. Rom. 15<sup>1-3</sup>, QR 31, Fest. p478<sup>34</sup> - p480<sup>4</sup>L - some sources, Serv. Aen. i 651.
271. Cat. 61<sup>134</sup>, Mart. i 35<sup>6-7</sup>, iii 93<sup>25</sup>, xii 42<sup>4</sup>; cf Serv. Aen. i 651 - T = Hymenaeus. The wedding-cry merely: Cata. 12<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>16</sup>. The origin is still unknown: Walde Hofmann, Latte p96.
272. Plut. Rom. 15<sup>3-4</sup> (according to Juba) and QR 31 - wool-spinning, as being virtuous, Fest. p478<sup>34-37</sup>L - Varro ait (signum esse lani) fici, τάλαρον, id est quassillum.
273. Cic. De orat. ii 277, Plut. QR 31, Pliny NH viii 194 - nubentes uirgines comitaretur colus compta et fusus cum stamine; cf Serv. Aen. iv 458 - lanam ferens lanificium promittebat. Rose RGR pl92, PC ch7 - household articles being efficacious in keeping bad spirits away.
274. Varro LL vii 34, Paul.-Fest. p43<sup>25-26</sup>L - uas nuptiale, p55<sup>23-26</sup>L - uas quoddam quod opertum in nuptiis ferebant, in quo erant nubentis utensilia. D-S Cumera - probably for grain or food.
275. D-S Vitta.
276. Pliny NH xxviii 28.
277. Pliny NH viii 194 following Varro, Plut. QR 30.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 278 - CHAPTER SIX 290

278. Pliny NH viii 194.
279. Val. Max. inc. auct. lib. 7, Pliny NH viii 194, Paul.-Fest. p85<sup>3-7</sup>L.
280. J.Gagé Tanaquil et les rites étrusques de la Fortune oiseuse SE xxii 1952-3 p79. See also D-S Fusus, PW Tanaquil, Ogilvie on Livy i 54<sup>10</sup> & i 57<sup>9</sup>.
281. See below pl81.
282. See Chapter Five pll8.
283. Pliny NH xxviii 142, Serv. Aen. iv 458.
284. Pliny NH xxviii 135, Arnob. iii 25, Donat. Ter. Hec. 135 - postes unguebant, Serv. Aen. iv 458 - oleo, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - postes unguent, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup> - oleo. Samter GHT chl2, FF ch6 - expiatory offering, Wagenvoort ch5, Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2) - was pig's fat connected with Ceres? Was Juno Unxia relevant here?: Arnob. iii 25, Mart. Cap. ii 149, and see D-S Juno, Radke Unxia.
285. Pliny NH xxix 30, Lucan ii 355 - infula ... candida, Plut. QR 31, Donat. Ter. Hec. 135, Serv. Aen. iv 458 - propter auspiciu castitatis ornarent laneis uittis, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup>. Samter FF ch6 - wool was purificatory, D-S Vitta - sacred & prophylactic.
286. Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup> - (according to Varro) so as not to hurt the sacred thing of Vesta. K. Meister Die Hausschwelle in Sprache und Religion der Römer Sitzungsber. Heidel. Akad. Wiss. xv 1924/5 no3; Wagenvoort ch5, Raglan ch3.
287. She steps over: Plaut. Cas. 815-7, Cat. 61<sup>166-7</sup>, Serv. Aen. ii 469 - limen non tangunt, E 8<sup>29</sup>, Isid. Etym. ix 7<sup>12</sup> - uetabantur limina calcare. Carried over: Lucan ii 359, Plut. Rom. 15<sup>5</sup>, QR 29.
288. Plut. Rom. 15<sup>5</sup> - because the Sabines were forced, QR 29 - various reasons. Why should her own attendants thus force her in? See Samter GHT chl2.
289. See Chapter Five ppl8-9.
290. Plut. QR 30, Val. Max. inc. auct. lib. 7 - nouae nuptae ante ianuam mariti interrogatae quatenus uocarentur Gaias esse se dicerent, Quint. Inst. or. i 7<sup>28</sup>.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 291 - CHAPTER SIX 308

291. Cf Plut. QR 30 - 'ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδέσποτος, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκο-<sup>δέσποτος</sup>. See Rose ad loc., on QR intro.5 where he says that marriage was originally quite outside the gens, RGR ppl92-3.
292. Plut. QR 30 - as an alternative to that given above, Val. Max. inc. auct. lib. 7, Paul.-Fest. p85<sup>3-7</sup>L - id nomen ominis boni causa frequentent nubentes. However this does not seem like an original reason.
293. Cic. Pro Mur. 27. So PW Matrimonium, Nuptiae, Peruzzi op.cit. ch8.
294. Varro in Non. p852L. Samter FF ch2.
295. Latte p97.
296. PW Matrimonium, Coemptio.
297. Varro in Non. p852L.
298. See Chapter Five pll9.
299. Cat. 61<sup>181-2</sup>.
300. Petr. 26 - thalamum ... exmanerant ueste, Claud. De cons. Stil. i 5 - sertis. The sacredness of the thalamum is implied at Cic. Pro Cluent. 15, Cann. epigr. ll39a. Raglan chl2 - it was usual for the marriage bed to be in a special room, booth or canopy.
301. Pronuba: Sen. Med. 37, Claud. De raptu Pros. ii 362-4 - pronuba ... Nox, Poet. Lat. Min. iii 42<sup>70ff</sup> Baehrens (Epith. Laur.).  
Pronubae: Cat. 61<sup>186-8</sup>, Donat. Ter. Eun. 592.
302. Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>20-22</sup>L, Arnob. iii 25, 30, Mart. Cap. ii 149. D-S Juno, Radke Cinxia, Noailles op.cit. - probably just one of the di certi.
303. Cat. 61<sup>53</sup> - untied by the bride, Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>13-18</sup>L - untied by the man. The act became of course symbolic: D-S Nodus.
304. Suet. Aug. 62, Dio xlviii 5<sup>3</sup>.
305. CIL x 3058. See Hopkins op.cit.
306. Macr. i 15<sup>22</sup>. Raglan ch4.
307. Macr. i 15<sup>22</sup> - nuptam in domo ... oportet ... et rem facere diuinam.
308. Juv. 6<sup>204-5</sup> - a dish decorated with gold.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 309 - CHAPTER SIX 323

309. Fest. pl74<sup>17-20</sup>L.
310. Ovid F i 35-36, F iii 134, Plut. Numa 12<sup>2</sup>. Extreme mourning: Verg. Aen. iv 457-9. D-S and PW Matrimonium, Baldson RW chl0(3), and see below ppl76-7.
311. Cic. Pro Cluent. 35
312. Le Bonniec op.cit. ch3(2).
313. Eg Pliny NH xxx 126, 130 & 131; but Ovid F ii 425-6 - not sensible to hope for motherhood by using such things.
314. Ovid F ii 427-48, Plut. Rom. 21<sup>5</sup>, Caes. 61<sup>2</sup>, Juv. 2<sup>142</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p75<sup>25</sup> - 76<sup>2</sup>L, Serv. Aen. viii 343. For more thoughts on this obscure ritual see Warde Fowler p310-321, H.J.Rose De lupis Lupercis Lupercalibus Mnem. lx 1933 p385, Latte p84-87, Baldson RW chl0, E.Sachs Some notes on the Lupercalia AJPh lxxxiv 1963 p266.
315. Hand: Plut. Caes. 61<sup>2</sup>, Juv. 2<sup>142</sup>. And cf Onians pl98 nl.
316. Paul.-Fest. p75<sup>25</sup> - 76<sup>2</sup>L - amiculo Iunonis, god concerned Februalis/Februata/Februlis. Warde Fowler p312-3, Rose op.cit.
317. Varro LL vi 34 - tum februaratur populus, Dion. Hal. i 80<sup>1</sup> - καθαρὸν τινα τῶν κωμητῶν πατρίων, Plut. Numa 19<sup>5</sup>. Anyone hit (not only women): Plut. Rom. 21<sup>5</sup>, Caes. 61<sup>2</sup>. Warde Fowler p318-9, Rose op.cit.
318. Ovid F ii 427, Plut. Rom. 21<sup>5</sup>, Caes. 61<sup>2</sup>.
319. Aug. Res gest. 19. 15 February became the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary: Warde Fowler p321.
320. Ovid F i 623-4 - abortions performed in the story about Carmentis' two festivals as a punishment to society, Am. ii 14<sup>27-40</sup> - abortions crude, dangerous and to be disapproved of, Juv. 6<sup>595</sup>. K.Hopkins Contraception in the Roman empire Comp. Stud. Soc. & Hist. viii 1965-6 pl24 - upper-class women at least, in the period 2nd century BC to 2nd century AD; recipes to be found in medical writers, eg Soranus.
321. See above pl41.
322. Auson. Cento nupt. 83. Radke Pronuba.
323. St. Aug. CD iv 11 - coniuges iungat, vi 9. Radke Iugatinus.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 324 - CHAPTER SIX 336

324. St. Aug. CD vi 9, vii 2 & 3, vii 16 - praeponunt seminibus ... masculinis/liquori seminum; cf St. Aug. CD vii 21 - at the Lavinian festival a materfamilias placed a garland on the phallus, to increase crop fertility. Radke Liber.
325. St. Aug. CD vii 3, also vii 2, Serv. Aen. iii 139 - sterility due to Saturn.
326. Arnob. vi 18. Radke Conserentes.
327. St. Aug. CD vi 9, vii 2 & 3 in all of which places she is said to equal Venus.
328. St. Aug. CD vii 3 - = Libera, vii 16 - praeponunt seminibus ... femininis/ariditati seminum.
329. Cat. 61<sup>202</sup> where in fact she helps the bridegroom!, Auson. Cento nupt. 83, St. Aug. CD vi 9, vii 3 - = Libera.
330. Serv. Aen. iii 139 - procreation comes from Juno.
331. Serv. Aen. iii 139 - sterility due to Luna. Radke Luna.
332. St. Aug. CD iv ii, vi 9. Bickel op.cit. ch5 thinks her really an Etruscan gentile god.
333. St. Aug. CD vii 2, also Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>3</sup> - deus Conseuius, St. Aug. CD vii 3, Macr. i 9<sup>16</sup> - (Janus) Consiuium a conserendo, Lydus De mens. iv 1 - Janus Consiuius = βουλαῖος. Radke Conseuius - etymology etc. uncertain.
334. Petr. 137 - Priapus' goose loved by matronae, St. Aug. CD iv 34, vi 9. Turcan op.cit. - consummation sacred to Priapus.
335. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>12</sup> - Pertunda, Subigus, Prema, Arnob. iv 7 & 11 - Perfica, Pertunda, Non. p235L - Perfica, and quoting Lucr. ii 1116 for perfica = perfecting growth (of nature), St. Aug. CD vi 9 - Prema, Pertunda, Subigus. Radke Perfica, Pertunda, Prema, Subigus.
336. Stepping over: Pliny NH xxv 115, xxvii 110, xxviii 80, xxx 128, xxx 130, xxxii 133; see Wagenvoort ch5, although a pregnant woman was filled with her own special mana: ch6. Other causes: eg Pliny NH vii 43 - nasty smell, xxvii 110 - eating something, xxviii 80 - touching something.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 337 - CHAPTER SIX 348

337. CIL xi 3573 - dedicated by freedmen or slaves; cf CIL ix 2110 to Juno Veridicae. Latte p105 n2.
338. M.Renard Iuno Historia Lat. xii 1953 pl37.
339. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>3</sup> - quae infantem in utero nutriat), Paul.-Fest. p82<sup>4-5</sup>L, Arnob. iii 30 - Juno Fluonia, St. Aug. CD vii 3 - Juno & Mena, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - Fluonia/Februalis/Februa. D-S Juno, Radke Fluonia.
340. Tert. De anima 37<sup>1</sup>. Radke Alemona.
341. Arnob. iv 7-8, iii 30 - (Juno) Ossipagina. D-S Juno, Radke Ossipago.
342. Serv. Aen. i 329.
343. Plaut. Amph. 1091-4 - inuocat deos immortales, ut sibi auxilium ferant, // manibus puris, capite aperto.
344. Cat. 34<sup>13-14</sup> - tu Lucina dolientibus // Iuno dicta puerperis, Verg. G iii 60, iv 340, Hor. Carm. saec. 13-16, - Ilithyia/Lucina/Genitalis, Epod. 5<sup>5-6</sup>, Ovid F ii 436, 449, 451, vi 39, iii 255, Am. ii 13<sup>19-21</sup> - Ilithyia, Met. ix 698, Prop. iv 1<sup>99-100</sup>, Stat. Silu. iv 8<sup>22</sup>, Mart. Spect. 13<sup>4</sup>, Plut. QR 77, Tert. De anima 37<sup>1</sup>, Auson. Ecl. 7<sup>31-33</sup>, Serv. Aen. viii 84, Claud. De cons. Stil. ii 342-3, St. Aug. CD iv 21, 34, vii 3 - Juno, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - Lucina/Lucetia. D-S Juno, Latte p95.
345. Ovid AA iii 785.
346. Varro LL v 69, Ovid F ii 450 - quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes, iii 255 - tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti, vi 39-40 - from lucis of month, Plut. QR 77 - connection with full moon, Tert. De anima 37<sup>1</sup> - quae producat in lucem, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - quod lucem nascentibus tribuas; cf Cic. ND ii 68 - like Greek Lucifera.
347. Ovid F ii 435-6, 449 - dedit haec tibi nomina lucus, Pliny NH xvi 235 - ab eo luco Lucina nominetur. Grove on the Esquiline mentioned at Varro LL v 49. Radke Lucina.
348. Varro LL v 50 - temple mentioned, Ovid F iii 247-8 - 1 March, Pliny NH xvi 235. - 375BC, Paul.-Fest. p131<sup>25-6</sup>L - 1 March, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p233 - Fasti Praen. for 1 March, CIL vi 358 - rededication in 41BC. Warde Fowler p38, Latte p105.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 349 - CHAPTER SIX 361

349. Plaut. Truc. 475 - with incense and fire at altar, Cic. ND ii 68 - in pariendo inuocant, Varro LL v 69 - parientes eam inuocant, Verg. E 4<sup>8-10</sup> - the poet prays, Ovid Am. ii 13<sup>21-24</sup> - Ovid prays to Ilithyia and promises incense and gifts, Met. ix 293-4 - Alcmene, Stat. Silu. i 2<sup>269</sup> - he prays for friend's wife, Apul. Met. vi 4 - sis meis extremis casibus Iuno Sospita, Tert. De anima 39 - Lucinae et Dianae eiulatur, Macr. vii 16<sup>27</sup> - a parturientibus inuocatur, St. Aug. CD iv 11.
350. CIL i 359 - Iunonii Locina dono pro C. Rutilio P.f., i 360 - P. Rutilius M.f. Iunonei Loucina dedit meretod diuos castud, i 987 - Iunoni Lucin. Sulpicia Ser.f. pro Paulla Cassia f. sua d.d.l.m.
351. Ovid F iii 257-8, Serv. Aen. iv 513 - pregnant women not specified. Samter GHT ch10, D-S Nodus, Radke Lucina.
352. Cic. Brut. 56, CIL vi 3720; cf Ovid F i 462 - sacrum pontificale, Plut. Rom. 21<sup>1</sup> - old. Radke Carmenta.
353. Shrine: Gell. xviii 7<sup>2</sup>. Altar: Varro in Gell. xvi 16<sup>4</sup> - altars to two Carmentes, Verg. Aen. viii 337-8, Dion. Hal. i 32<sup>2</sup> - altar to Evander too, Serv. Aen. viii 337.
354. Ovid F i 617-628 with explanatory story, festivals for matronae pro pueris ... uirginibusque, Plut. QR 56 - carried out by mothers.
355. Warde Fowler p290 - two Carmentes or two temples; Latte pl36 - two communities with separate festivals?
356. Verg. Aen. viii 335-6, Dion. Hal. i 31<sup>1-2</sup>, Ovid F i 472, Serv. Aen. viii 336.
357. Ovid F i 474-538, Serv. Aen. viii 336; cf Plut. QR 56 & Rom. 21<sup>2</sup> - = Μοῖρα. Onians pp66-67.
358. Dion. Hal. i 31<sup>1</sup>, Ovid F i 467, Plut. QR 56.
359. Ie Varro indicates that the two Carmentes were birth goddesses: Gell. xvi 16<sup>4</sup>. And so Warde Fowler p291-2, L.L.Tels-de Jong Sur quelques divinités romaines de la naissance et de la prophétie Delft 1959 chl.
360. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch3.
361. St. Aug. CD iv 11, also Ovid F i 633-4 - siue sorores/siue ... comites, Serv. Aen. viii 336 - comites.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 362 - CHAPTER SIX 372

362. Varro in Gell. xvi 16<sup>4</sup> - Postuerta & Prorsa a recti peruersique partus et potestate et nomine, Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>6</sup> - Prosa Carmentis for correct birth.
363. Ovid F i 633-6 - Porrima and Postuerta, Serv. Aen. viii 336 - Porrima and Postuerta; cf Macr. i 7<sup>20</sup> - Anteuorta and Postuorta connected with two-faced Janus; and cf Serv. Aen. i 720 - Venus Postuota, which could be amended to Postuorta: Radke Postverta, but not Latte pl36 n7. See also Radke Carmentes, who he thinks were only to do with prophecy and not with birth, & also Antevorta, Prorsa, Porrima.
364. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch2.
365. Livy i 21<sup>3</sup>, Juv. 3<sup>11-20</sup>. See Ogilvie on the Livy passage.
366. Enn. Ann. fr. 124 = Varro LL vii 42, Verg. Aen. vii 763-4, Sulpic. Sat. 67-8, Dion. Hal. ii 61<sup>1</sup>, Strabo v 3<sup>12</sup>, Livy i 19<sup>5</sup>, i 21<sup>3</sup>, Ovid F iii 261-76, Met. xv 487-8, Val. Max. i 2<sup>1</sup>, Plut. Numa 4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>10</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 15<sup>9</sup>, Juv. 3<sup>11-20</sup>, Schol. Juv. 3<sup>17</sup>, Lactant. Inst. i 22, Serv. Aen. vii 763, St. Aug. CD vii 35 - from Varro.
367. Paul.-Fest. p67<sup>25-26</sup>L - Egeriae nympheae sacrificabant praegnantes, quod eam putabant facile conceptum aluo egerere. Latte pl70-1, Radke Egeria. Much remains puzzling: she was probably not a gens god.
368. Eg CIL i<sup>2</sup> 42 - dedication by a woman for the birth of a son, i<sup>2</sup> 45 - dedication by a nutrix, i<sup>2</sup> 1480 - to Diana Opifera Nemorensis. Warde Fowler p200, Latte pl70, Radke Diana.
369. Prop. ii 32<sup>9-10</sup>, Ovid F iii 269-70, Stat. Silu. iii 1<sup>56</sup>. Some celebration at the hearth: Stat. Silu. iii 1<sup>59-60</sup>.
370. Cic. ND iii 47. Latte p52. Radke Natio.
371. Pliny NH xxix 58 - sacrifice of catulus, Plut. QR 52 - sacrifice of dog, name derived from manare: both erroneous. Latte p95, Radke Genita Mana.
372. Ovid Met. ix 294 - Nixosque patres clamore uocabam (Alcmene), Fest. pl82<sup>23-30</sup>L - signa on Capitol, Non. p80L - Nixis, quae ... parientibus praesunt. Samter GHT chl, K.Stade Nixibus sanctis Germ. xviii 1934 p216, Latte p52 n3 who quotes an inscription from Aquileia 'Nixibus (et) Lucinis'. They do not seem to be early.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 373 - CHAPTER SIX 386

373. Cic. De diu. ii 85 - & colitur a matribus, CIL xiv 2863 - dedicated in gratitude for a birth (surely, not for the fertility of the crops). Warde Fowler pp223-4, 167-8, Latte ppl76-7.
374. Varro in Non. p559L - in partu precabantur Numeriem, quam deam solent indigitare etiam pontifices, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - quae numerare doceat! Radke Numeria - name from counting out fate of child?
375. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>4</sup> - qui puerum perducatur ad partum, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - qui partum perducatur ad diem. Radke Diespiter.
376. Paul.-Fest. p221<sup>6-7</sup>L, Mart. Cap. ii 149 - in partus discrimine protexeris. Radke Opigena.
377. Varro in Gell. iii 16<sup>9-10</sup> - Parca ... a partu nominata. P.C.van der Horst Fatum, tria Fata; Parca, tres Parcae Mnem. xi 1943 p217, Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch4-7, Latte pp52-53, Radke Parca. But S. Weinstock Two archaic inscriptions from Latium JRS 1 1960 pl12 derives from parcere.
378. Van der Horst op.cit., Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch5 & 6.
379. Tert. De anima 37<sup>1</sup> - quae partum gubernet, associated with two Parcae. Radke Partula.
380. Varro in Gell. iii 16<sup>9-10</sup> - a partus tempestiui tempore, Tert. De anima 37; cf Ovid F vi 795 - 2 names for Parcae.
381. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch7, H.G.Kolbe Lare Aineia? Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abt. lxxvii 1970 pl; Radke suggests a derivation to do with nodding (favourably) in Nona and from decus in Decima.
382. Caesellius Vindex in Gell. iii 16<sup>11</sup> and Liuius Andronicus whom he quotes give Morta, Gellius suggests Moera. Tels-de Jong and Radke separate Morta and Maurta, which seems unlikely.
383. Maurtia connected with Mars by Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch4, Weinstock op.cit.; denied by Latte pp52-53, Radke Maurta. Mortia as equivalent to Moera: Van der Horst op.cit., Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch4, Radke Morta.
384. Latte pp52-53.
385. Ovid Met. ix 298-315, Pliny NH xxxviii 59. Other hindrances: eg Pliny NH xxxii 133; Samter GHT ch2 - nasty spirits.
386. Onians ppl75-6 & 198.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 387 - CHAPTER SIX 394

387. Paul.-Fest. p48<sup>26</sup>L - clauim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare; Samter GHT chl0 - key given originally to unlock all the doors of the house. Knots: Samter GHT chl0, D-S Nodus & Vinculum. Other magic aids: eg Pliny NH xxx 126, 128-130, and especially xxviii 33-34 - stone or weapon that had killed a man, a boar and a bear thrown over the house or brought inside, with Samter GHT ch3.
388. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>4</sup> - per quem uiuiscat infans et sentia(t primum), St. Aug. CD vii 2 & 3. According to W.F.Otto Römische Sondergötter RM lxiv 1909 p449 they were really gens gods; Radke Vitumnus & Sentinus.
389. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>5</sup> - Candelifera, quoniam ad candelae lumina pariebant. Samter GHT ch5, Radke Candelifera - translation of a surname of Artemis?
390. Ovid Ibis 221-2 - matris prolapsus ab aluo/... pressit humum, Trist. iv 3<sup>46</sup> - tactaque nascenti ... humus, Pliny NH vii 2 - in nuda humo natali die abicit (nature), Suet. Aug. 5 - soli, quod primum Dius Augustus nascens attigisset, Nero 6<sup>1</sup> - terra contingeretur, Stat. Silu. v 5<sup>69</sup> - tellure cadentem, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - excipiendi eos sinu terrae, Macr. i 12<sup>22</sup> - attigerint terram, i 12<sup>20</sup> - terrae contactu. Samter GHT chl, Rose PC ch7, Wagenvoort chl, Latte p95.
391. St. Aug. CD iv 11, also iv 21; cf Macr. i 12<sup>21-2</sup> - Ops/Fatua = terra = Bona Dea. Radke Ops & Opifera.
392. Varro in Gell. xvi 17<sup>2</sup> - quoniam pueri, simul atque parti sunt, eam primam uocem edunt quae prima in Vaticano syllabast idcircoque uagire dicitur, St. Aug. CD iv 8, 11 & 21. Other gods dragged in at Macr. i 12<sup>20</sup> - Mercurium ... quia uox nascenti homini terrae contactu datur, i 12<sup>22</sup> - Fatuam a fando. Vaticanus a local god according to Latte pll2; Radke Vagitanus (= modern conjecture for Vaticanus).
393. Varro in Non. p848L, Varro in Serv. Aen. x 76 - Pilumnum et Pitumnum infantium deos esse ait eisque pro puerpera lectum in atrio sterni.
394. Varro in Isid. Etym. iv 11<sup>6</sup>, Pliny NH xviii 10, Serv. Aen. ix 4 & x 76, Mart. Cap. ii 158. Samter GHT ch3, Ernout-Meillet & Walde-Hofmann - derivations uncertain, Latte pp51-52, Radke Pilumnus.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 395 - CHAPTER SIX 407

395. Piso in Serv. Aen. x 76 - quia pellat mala infantiae, Fest. p224<sup>4-6</sup>L - from pilum or pellere. PW Pilumnus und Picumnus-not from pestle.
396. Minuc. Felix 25<sup>8</sup> - Picus, Non. p834L - Picumnus = picus or pica, Serv. Aen. ix 4 - Stercutius and fertilisation, Pilumnus and Pitumnus brother gods, St. Aug. CD xviii 15 - Picus associated with Saturn and Stercen/Stercutius. Latte pp51-52 and Radke Picumnus both puzzled.
397. Pilumnus: Verg. Aen. ix 3-4 & x 76 & x 619 & xii 83 - ancestor/great-great-grandfather of Turnus, Serv. Aen. x 76 & 619. Picus: Verg. Aen. vii 48 and Lactant. Inst. i 22 - father of Faunus, Serv. Aen. x 76 - father of Faunus and grandfather of Latinus. PW Pilumnus und Picumnus. But Picus must be a separate god: see Radke Picus.
398. Varro in St. Aug. CD vi 9. Rose PC ch7, Latte pp94-95; Chapter Two pl4.
399. St. Aug. CD vi 9 - ut his datis culturae signis deus Silvanus prohibeatur intrare. Samter GHT ch3.
400. St. Aug. CD vi 9 - Intercidonam a securis intercisione, Pilumnus a pilo, Deuerram ab scopis. Radke Intercidona - from cutting of umbilical cord?, Pilumnus, Deverra.
401. Varro in Non. p848L - lectus in the atrium for Pilumnus and Picumnus, Juv. 6<sup>78</sup> - longa per angustos ... pulpita uicos, Tert. De anima 39 - per totam hebdomadam Iunoni mensa proponitur. De Marchi ch3(2), Latte pp95-96, and see Chapter Three p51.
402. See Chapter Five pl22.
403. Tac. Dial. 28, Germ. 20, Juv. 6<sup>9</sup> - wife in the Golden Age, Gell. xii 1<sup>5</sup> - totam integram matrem esse filii sui, CIL vi 19128 = ILS 8451 - quae etiam filios suos propriis uberibus educauit.
404. Gell. xii 1<sup>6</sup>.
405. Eg Pliny NH xxx 131, xxxii 132.
406. Pliny NH xxviii 72ff - especially if it were a male baby, or better still, male twins!
407. Varro in Non. 246L, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - in diua Rumina mammam paruulo immulgeat, quia rumam dixerunt ueteres mammam, iv 21. D-S Juno, Bickel op.cit. ch5 - originally god of the gens Rumna, Radke Rumina - flowing goddess (with milk or sap).

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 408 - CHAPTER SIX 426

408. Varro RR ii 11<sup>5</sup>, Plut. Rom. 4<sup>1</sup>, QR 57 - to increase supply of milk.
409. Varro RR ii 11<sup>5</sup> - aput diuae Ruminæ sacellum a pastoribus satam ficum, Ovid F ii 411-2, Pliny NH xv 77, Plut. QR 57.
410. Varro in Fest. p332<sup>8-14</sup>L & Paul.-Fest. p333<sup>4-7</sup>L, Fest. p326<sup>24-6</sup>L, Serv. Aen. viii 90.
411. Fest. p332<sup>15-16</sup>L & Paul.-Fest. p333<sup>8-9</sup>L - Rumen est pars colli, qua esca deuoratur, Serv. Aen. viii 63, viii 90 - (Tiber) Rumon dictus est.
412. So Latte plll.
413. Cat. 62<sup>27-28</sup> & 62<sup>60-61</sup> - marriage arranged by both parents, Cic. De. diu. i 104 - Caecilia sought prenuptial omen for niece, Polyb. xxxi 27<sup>3</sup> - Scipio's widow paid the half dowry owing to his sisters.
414. Livy xxxviii 57<sup>6-8</sup>, also Plut. Ti. Gracc. 4<sup>1-2</sup> - Appius Claudius' wife likewise.
415. Cic. Ad Att. vi 6.
416. Apul. Apol. 70 - mother advising (no father).
417. See n257 above.
418. Sen. Phoen. 507-8.
419. Cic. Pro Cluent. 14.
420. Pliny NH ix 117 - Gaius' wife present at ordinary betrothal dinners, Suet. Claud. 26<sup>3</sup> - Claudius and Agrippina attended weddings of uncles to nieces.
421. Apul. Apol. 70.
422. Prop. iv 1<sup>132</sup>.
423. Cic. Pro Cluent. 28 - ex-wife recelebrates son's funeral, and cf n468 below.
424. See n310 & 311 above.
425. Eg Livy xxxiv 7<sup>10</sup> - quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? quid, cum eluxerunt, sumunt?
426. Apul. Met. ii 23, Serv. Aen. iii 64; but according to Plut. QR 26 they wore white: perhaps this was the older custom.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 427 - CHAPTER SIX 437

427. Ovid F ii 813-4 - mother, Am. iii 9<sup>49-50</sup> - sister, Verg. Aen. iii 65, xi 35, Plut. QR 14 - daughters, Petr. 111 - wife & maid, Lucan ii 23-24 - mother, viii 739-740, Lucian De luctu 12, Apul. Met ix 31.
428. Ter. Phorm. 95-96 - daughter, Cic. De leg. ii 59, Verg. Aen. xi 146-7, Ovid Her. 10<sup>119</sup> - mother, Plut. Numa 12<sup>2</sup>, Val. Max. i 1<sup>15</sup> - matronae for 30 days after Cannae, Ann. Marc. xix 1<sup>11</sup>, Petr. 63 - mother, 72 - Fortunata at Trimalchio's mock funeral, 111 - wife & maid, but 42 - a wife does not want to mourn her husband, Lucian De luctu 12, ILS 140 - matronae lament Gaius Caesar.
429. Cic. De leg. ii 59, Verg. Aen. iv 672-4 - Anna, Lucian De luctu 12, Serv. Aen. iii 67; apparently forbidden by the XII Tables: Serv. Aen. xii 606.
430. Prop. ii 13<sup>27-30</sup>, Verg. Aen. iv 672-4 - Anna, Petr. 111, Apul. Met. ix 31, Lucian De luctu 12, Serv. Aen. v 78.
431. Lucian De luctu 12.
432. Verg. Aen. iv 683-6 - Anna from Dido, Prop. ii 13<sup>27-30</sup>, Sen. De cons. ad Marc. 3<sup>2</sup> - Drusus' mother should have been able to do this; but Petr. 74 - Fortunata forbidden to kiss Trimalchio.
433. Verg. Aen. ix 486-9 - mother, Ovid Am. iii 9<sup>49-52</sup> - mother, F iii 561-3 - Anna, Suet. Cal. 59 - C's sisters; cf Prop. i 17<sup>21-23</sup> - Cynthia.
434. Ovid F iii 169-170, Hor. Od. iii 8<sup>1</sup>, Tib. iii 1<sup>1</sup>, iv 2<sup>1</sup>, Plut. Rom. 21<sup>1</sup>, Mart. v 84<sup>11</sup>, ix 90<sup>15</sup>, x 24<sup>1-3</sup>, Juv. 9<sup>53</sup>, Paul.-Fest. pl31<sup>25-6</sup>L, Solin. i 35, Auson. Ecl. 23 De fer. 7-8, Macr. vi 4<sup>13</sup>, Serv. Aen. viii 638, Tert. De idol. 14, Lydus De mens. iii 22, iv 42. PW Matronalia, D-S Juno, De Marchi ch3(4), Gagé chlc, Balsdon LL ch3.
435. Ovid F iii 201-228, Plut. Rom 21<sup>1</sup>, Serv. Aen. viii 638.
436. Ovid F iii 169-170, 229-234, 243-4, Tib. iii 1<sup>1</sup>, iv 2<sup>1</sup>, Auson. Ecl. 23 De fer. 7-8, Lydus De mens. iv 42. Warde Fowler p35, Gagé chlc.
437. Paul.-Fest. pl31<sup>25-26</sup>L, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p233 Fasti Praen. - Iunoni Lucinae Esquiliis quod eo die aedis ei (dedica)ta est per matronas quam uouerat Albin(...) etc. - an unusual uotum by a woman (probably), on which see Gagé chlc.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 438 - CHAPTER SIX 451

438. Ovid F iii 247-56, also Lydus De mens. iv 42; cf Mart. ix 90<sup>13-18</sup> - to Venus, as being the relevant divinity for a mistress.
439. Ovid F iii 234 perhaps, Mart. ix 90<sup>16-18</sup> - incense, wine, victim and cake offered here to Venus, presumably at home, Auson. Ecl. 23 De fer. 7-8 perhaps - sacra colant, cf Hor. Od. iii 8<sup>1-4</sup> - bachelor Horace offers flowers and incense, maybe just as a matrona would, and cf Schol. ad loc.
440. Plaut. Mil. glor. 691 - given to mother by married daughter, Tib. iii 1<sup>3-4</sup> - munera, Suet. Vesp. 19<sup>1</sup> - apophoreta given to women by the emperor, Tert. De idol. 14 - munera and strenae, Macr. vi 4<sup>13</sup>, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>31,8</sup> - munus immodicum might be given by husband.
441. Mart. v 84<sup>6-12</sup> - munuscula given to woman friend by Martial, x 29<sup>3-4</sup> - green dress given to mistress by man, cf Juv. 9<sup>50</sup> - sunshade or amber balls given to man by follower.
442. Solin. i 35 - to encourage better service, Macr. i 12<sup>7</sup> - likewise, Lydus De mens. iii 22 & iv 42 - noble women entertained male slaves to honour Mars, cf Tert. De idol. 14 - lusus, conuiuia. Photeine P. Pourboulis Ancient festivals of 'Saturnalia' type Thessalonike 1964 intro. & chA2 sees here a typical inversion of social rank to deceive spirits - of fertility, she says!
443. Gagé chlc.
444. Solin. i 35, also Macr. i 12<sup>6</sup> - ignem nouum Vestae aris accendebant.
445. Stat. Silu. i 6<sup>43-44</sup>.
446. Hist. Aug. Aurel. 50.
447. Mart. v 84<sup>6-12</sup>.
448. Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>139-144</sup>.
449. Cic. Verr. II iv 47, and see also Ter. Heaut. 649-650, Marc. Aur. i 3, CIL vi 1527 = ILS 8393 (Laud. Tur.) i 30-31, and passim on epitaphs. De Marchi ch2(2).
450. Dion. Hal. ii 25<sup>2</sup>.
451. M.I. Finley The silent women of Rome in Aspects of antiquity (Pelican) Harmondsworth 1972 pl24.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 452 - CHAPTER SIX 468

452. Cf Tac. Dial. 28 - laus erat tueri domum et inseruire liberis.
453. See Chapter Four p86.
454. Prop. iv 1<sup>132</sup> - matris et ante deos.
455. Plaut. Trin. 39-41, Prop. iv 3<sup>53-54</sup>, Serv. E 8<sup>106</sup> - Cicero's wife pours a libation. De Marchi ch2(2).
456. Prud. C.Symm. i 205-7 and Hist. Aug. Marc. 6<sup>9</sup>.
457. Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>1</sup>, Ovid F vi 630, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>.
458. Plut. QR 50.
459. Raglan ch9, and Chapter Two pl8.
460. Cic. Verr. II iv 46-47.
461. Varro LL v 130.
462. Pers. 2<sup>40</sup>.
463. Verg. Aen. iv 517-521 - the widowed Dido, Aen. iv 634-640 - the unmarried sister Anna wearing a uitta assists Dido at sacrifice, Sen. Med. 38-39 - Medea on her own.
464. Val. Max. vi 7<sup>1</sup>.
465. Eg CIL vi 2128 = ILS 4923.
466. Prop. iii 10<sup>3</sup>, iv 5<sup>36</sup>, Tib. iv 6<sup>1-4</sup>, Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>5</sup>, Symm. Ep. vi 79 & 80, Dig. xxiv 1<sup>31,8</sup>; also Ovid Trist. v 5<sup>1-2</sup> - O in exile. Women would share in the birthdays of other members of the family: Juv. 2<sup>84-85</sup> - a family feast in the good old days.
467. CIL i 987 - to Juno Lucina on behalf of her daughter, iii 1075 - to Juno Regina Populonia, vi 6 & 10 - to Aesculapius, CIL x 6640 = ILS 3338 - images of gods in sacrario Cereris Antiatinae, CIL xi 2096 - Lar Victor.
468. CIL i 781 - to husband, i 1227 - to son by freedwoman, i 1837 - to daughter by freedwoman, i 2139 (Gall. Cis.) - to son, vi 15126 - to husband, vi 25808 - to daughter by freedwoman, vi 14328 - to son, viii 3695 (Num.) - to husband and self, ix 5142 - to husband, ix 2272 - to daughter, x 727 - to daughter, xii 3579 (Gall. Narb.) - to daughter, xiv 848 - to husband, daughter, freedmen and self.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 469 - CHAPTER SIX 473

469. CIL i 1259 - to patron by freedwoman, v 176 - to freedman brother, vi 3684 - to Genius of freedman patron, vi 12281-2 - to amica, vi 13480 - to patron and self by freedwoman, viii 22993 (Byz.) - to alumnus by patrona, x 7461 - to brother.
470. CIL vi 13480, viii 3695 (Num.), xiv 848.
471. CIL i 1220 - freedwoman and freedman husband for selves, i 1248 - freedwoman and freedman patron for selves, i 1274 - freedwoman and freedman husband for selves, i 1401 - freedwoman and freedman for selves and own freedmen, i 1413 - 2 freedwomen and 3 freedmen for selves and patron, i 1570 - freed parents to own freedwoman daughter-in-law, i 1638 - freedwoman and freedman for selves and own freedman, ii 2102 (Baet.) - both parents to daughter, iii 1075 (Dac.) - woman and man to Juno Regina Populonia, v 6954 - freedwoman and man to girl, vi 6 - woman and man to Aesculapius, vi 10 - woman and man to Aesculapius for alumna, vi 20892 - both parents for daughter, vi 22704 - both parents for daughter and freedmen, vi 28706 - grandparents and parents for daughter and selves and freedmen, vi 28756 - both parents for daughter, viii 2396 (Num.) - freedwoman and freedman to patrona, ix 1817 - both parents for daughter, CIL xiv 913 - both parents to son, xiv 4239 = ILS 1013 - cos. praef. and wife to another consular woman, x 7501 = ILS 121 (Malta) - priestess of Augusta & her 5 children.
472. Set up by the husband: CIL i 1072 = vi 23297 = ILS 8395 - by freedman husband, i 1412 - to wife and parents, i 1570 - by parents and husband to freedwoman wife, iii 3572 (Pann. Inf.), i 1007 = vi 15346 = ILS 8403 - probably by husband, i 1221 (c.78BC) - by freedman to freedwoman wife, v 1918 - to wife and concubine, vi 6342 = ILS 7432c, vi 26192 = ILS 8398, vi 19128 = ILS 8451 - by freedman husband, vi 19000 = ILS 8448 - by husband and sons, vi 15488 - to 2 wives, vi 25361, vi 26724, vi 14404, vi 3604, v 343, v 936-7 = ILS 2423 - by veteran husband, viii 21815 (Maur.) - by husband in will, ix 1913 = ILS 8437, ix 5861, x 3053, x 3351, x 663, xiv 418, 963; Carm. Ep. 1306.
473. Auson. Parent. 12 - to his sister Julia Dryadia, 16 - to nephew's wife, CIL vi 7732 - by father, vi 12400 - by daughter, vi 19000 = ILS 8448 - by sons and husband, viii 22927 (Byz.) - by brother, ix 2272 = Carm. Ep. 1523 - by mother to her married daughter, xii 3996 (Gall. Narb.) - by man and woman to their sister/ auiae, xiv 623 - by daughter.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 474 - CHAPTER SIX 480

474. CIL i 2135 - by patron to freedwoman, vi 20883 - by man to his nurse, viii 22928 (Byz.) - by man to his alumna, xiv 4239 = ILS 1013 - by man and wife to another consular woman. Set up by an unnamed person: CIL i 171, i 1098 = vi 28422 = ILS 8396, vi 11602 = ILS 8402, viii 7384 (Num.), viii 21243 (Maur.), viii 26673 (Africa) = Carm. ep. 1872, x 7196 (AD570), xi 1409 (AD573/4?) - to woman and her second husband.
475. CIL v 936-7 = ILS 2423 - set up by veteran to freedwoman concubine, CIL v 1918 - set up to wife and concubine, CIL vi 13480 - set up by freedwoman for her patron and herself, CIL vi 28335 = ILS 8397 - to a freedwoman, Carm. ep. 1988 - set up by patron to freedwoman concubine. Vestal Virgins: CIL vi 2128 = ILS 4923, CIL vi 2144 = ILS 4927; also CIL viii 1140 (Carth.) - to a priestess of Ceres.
476. Cat. 61<sup>211-5</sup>, Mart. xi 53<sup>5-8</sup> - 3 children, Tac. A xii 6, Juv. 6<sup>162</sup>, CIL i 1007/vi 15346 = ILS 1007 - 1 of 2 children still living, CIL iii 3572 (Pann. Inf.) - 1 child still alive out of 6 births, viii 26673 = Carm. ep. 1872 (Africa) - fecunda, CIL xiv 963 - 3 children living when she died aged 48.
477. Cat. 61<sup>221-5</sup> - faithful, Juv. 6<sup>163-4</sup> - rarely chaster than a Sabine, Auson. Parent. 12<sup>5-6</sup> & 16<sup>3-5</sup> - wifely virtues; cf the story of Claudia Quinta proving her pudicitia: Livy xxix 14, Ovid F iv 305-44, Pliny NH vii 120, Suet. Tib. 2<sup>3</sup>, App. vii 506, Sil. Ital. xvii 33-45, Herod. i 11 4-5, Val. Max. i 8<sup>11</sup> - statue; also Sulpicia chosen for her matron's chastity: Val. Max. viii 15<sup>12</sup>, Pliny NH vii 120.
478. CIL i 1221 (c78BC) - fida, vi 1527 = ILS 8393 - Turia was domestica, CIL vi 11602 = ILS 8402 = Carm. ep. 237 - pudica, casta, domiseda.
479. St. Aug. CD vi 9. See W.F.Otto Römische Sondergötter RM lxiv 1909 p449 and Radke Domitius and Manturna.
480. Livy i 57<sup>9</sup> - Lucretia virtuously spinning wool at home, perhaps Arnob. ii 67 - matresfamilias uestrae in atriis operantur domorum, industrias testificantes suas, Auson. Parent. 12<sup>6</sup> - colu, 16<sup>4</sup> - lanificae manus, CIL i 1007/vi 15346 = ILS 8403 = Carm. ep. 52 - lanam fecit, CIL iii 754 = Carm. ep. 492<sup>16</sup> (Moesia Inf.) - nec uellerum inscia fila, CIL vi 1527 = ILS 8393 - Turia's lanificiis, CIL vi 11602 = ILS 8402 = Carm. ep. 237 - lanifica. See Williams op.cit. and Ogilvie on Livy i 57<sup>9</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER SIX 481 - CHAPTER SIX 484

481. Suet. Aug. 64.
482. Carm. ep. 1988<sup>14</sup>.
483. CIL iii 3572 (Pann. Inf.) - unicuba & uniuga, vi 7732, vi 14404, CIL viii 26673 = Carm. ep. 1872 (Africa), CIL ix 2272 = Carm. ep. 1523<sup>7-8</sup>, Carm. ep. 652<sup>7</sup> (AD 363), 736<sup>3</sup>; CIL vi 3604, vi 12405 - unibyria, viii 7384 (Num.), ix 5142, x 3058, x 3351, x 7196 (AD570), xiv 418 - unibyriae, xiv 963, Carm. ep. 1306<sup>4</sup>. And see above n52.
484. Cat. 61<sup>186-8</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>16-18</sup>L, Tert. De exhort. cast. 13, Serv. Aen. iv 166.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 1 - CHAPTER SEVEN 14

1. Chapter Five pl23.
2. Paul.-Fest. pl13<sup>5-6</sup>L - matrimones et patrimones, p82<sup>23-5</sup>L, Serv. G i 31 - born of parents married by confarreatio! A.D.Nock Eros the child CR xxxviii 1924 pl52.
3. CIL v 7237.
4. St. Aug. CD vii 3 - cui ... memoriam tribuerunt; cf Serv. E 6<sup>3</sup> - consecrata est ut ... digiti Mineruae. Radke Minerva.
5. Varro LL vi 14, Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>197</sup>, Ovid F iii 810 - Q. named from the 5 days of the festival (this is wrong), Juv. 10<sup>115</sup>, Fest. p304<sup>33</sup> - 306<sup>8</sup>L. Warde Fowler pp 59-60, Bailey on the Ovid passage, Latte ppl64-5, Balson LL ch3.
6. Hor. Epist. ii 2<sup>197-8</sup>, Ovid F iii 815-6, Juv. 10<sup>115-6</sup>; cf Jer. Comm. ad Eph. iii 6<sup>4</sup> - Mineruale munus, Tert. De idol. 10.
7. Ovid F iii 817-8, also Verg. Aen. vii 805-6, viii 408-410, Tib. ii 1<sup>63-66</sup>. Chapter Six ppl65-6 & 181.
8. Quint. Decl. 340.
9. Rose RGR pl90.
10. Pers. 5<sup>30</sup> - custos ... purpura. A.Varagnac in preface to Lepage - Medvey National costumes Paris 1939, and see Chapter Three p73.
11. Macr. i 6<sup>8</sup>, but another story at i 6<sup>16</sup> - Hostus Hostilius honoured by Romulus with it.
12. Macr. i 6<sup>10-12</sup>; cf pseud. Ascon. on Verr. II i 113 - praetexta honestiorum, toga uiliorum.
13. Cic. In Verr. II i 113, also II i 152, Pro Arch. 5, Phil. ii 44, De amic. 33, Cat. 61<sup>182</sup>, Livy xiv 40<sup>7-8</sup>, xxxiv 7<sup>2</sup>, xlii 34<sup>4</sup>, Nic. Dam. Life of Aug. 4, Sen. Epist. i 4<sup>2</sup>, De benef. iii 33<sup>1</sup>, Stat. Silu. v 2<sup>66</sup>, 3<sup>119</sup>, Pliny NH xxxiii 10, Plut. Rom. 20<sup>3</sup>, Quint. Decl. 340, Suet. Cal. 10<sup>1</sup>, De rhet. 1, De gram. 16, Jul. 84 - thrown on Caesar's pyre, i.e. something of value, Gell. xviii 4<sup>1</sup>, Fest. p282<sup>22-25</sup>L, p282<sup>30</sup> - 284<sup>2</sup>L, Paul.-Fest. p283<sup>17-18</sup>L. Girls too: Cic. In Verr. II i 113, pseud. Ascon. on Verr. II i 113, Arnob. ii 67 - puellarum togulas.
14. Macr. i 6<sup>13-14</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 15 - CHAPTER SEVEN 28

15. Varro LL vii 97, also vii 107, Macr. i 6<sup>17</sup> - might contain heart, cf i 6<sup>9</sup> - bullae of triumphantes. D-S Bulla, PW Bulla; Varagnac op.cit. - glittering ornaments worn in positions needing protection (eg head) counteract the evil eye; this applied to girls' jewellery also.
16. Pliny NH xxxiii 10, Macr. i 6<sup>8</sup>, or else i 6<sup>16</sup> - Hostus Hostilius honoured by Romulus with it. Other origins: Plut. QR 101.
17. Cic. In Verr. II i 152, also Ascon. on Verr. II i 152 - bullae ... ingenūis ... aurea, Livy xxvi 36<sup>5</sup>, Pliny NH xxxiii 10 - gold bullae granted to all boys down to the equestrian order after the regal period, Stat. Silu. v 3<sup>120</sup> - nobile pectoris aurum, Val. Max. v 6<sup>8</sup> - insignia ingenuitatis offered in national disaster, vi 1, Prop. iv 1<sup>131</sup>, Pers. 5<sup>31</sup> & Schol., Petr. 60 - Lares bullatos, Plut. Rom. 20<sup>3</sup>, QR 53, Suet. De rhet. 1, Jul. 84 - thrown on Caesar's pyre as being of value, Juv. 5<sup>164-5</sup> & Schol. - Etruscan gold, 13<sup>33</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup> - bullatus, Paul.-Fest. p32<sup>23-8</sup>L - word derived from βουλή! Porph. & Schols. on Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>65</sup>, Macr. i 6<sup>10-11</sup>, iii 14<sup>7</sup> - bullae should be sign of respectable family.
18. Ascon. on Verr. II i 152 - libertinis scortea, Pliny NH xxxiii 10 - in earlier times leather ones for boys of classes lower than equestrian, Juv. 5<sup>164-5</sup> & Schol. - poor man's leather, Macr. i 6<sup>14</sup> - lorum for freedmen's sons after 2nd Punic War.
19. Pliny NH xxxiii 152 - silver, Plut. QR 101 - crescent-shaped.
20. Plaut. Rud. 1171 - gold bullae given by father.
21. Plaut. Epid. 638-9 - gold jewellery given (instead?) but 1 piece maybe is amulet, Livy xxvi 36<sup>5</sup> - daughters had gold jewellery, sons the bullae.
22. Dion. Hal. ii 45<sup>4-5</sup> & 46<sup>1</sup>, Ovid F iii 217-22. Gagé ch2a.
23. Dion. Hal. viii 44<sup>2</sup>. Gagé ch2a.
24. Macr. i 6<sup>14</sup>.
25. Obseq. 1.
26. Obseq. 40.
27. Hor. Carm. saec. 3-8 etc., CH vi 32323<sup>147-9</sup> = ILS 5050.
28. Dio lix 7<sup>1</sup>.



## NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 29 - CHAPTER SEVEN 43

29. Paul.-Fest. p38<sup>8</sup>L - free-born boy; any boy as in old carmen - Paul.-Fest. p82<sup>16-22</sup>L, Macr. v 20<sup>18</sup>, Serv. G i 101. Latte p407 & n3.
30. Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>23-26</sup>L, Macr. iii 8<sup>6</sup> - praeminister deorum, Serv. Aen. xi 543 & 558. Latte p407 & n3.
31. Dion. Hal. ii 22<sup>1-2</sup>. Rose RGR p208.
32. Macr. iii 8<sup>7</sup> - pueros et puellas nobiles et inuestes camillos et camillas appellant, Serv. Aen. xi 543. D-S Camilli, FW Camillus - probably patrician until Lex Ogulua 300 BC.
33. Dion. Hal. ii 22<sup>1-2</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p82<sup>23-5</sup>L, Macr. iii 8<sup>7</sup>, Serv. Aen. xi 543 & 558.
34. Mentioned specifically by Plut. Numa 7<sup>5</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p82<sup>16-25</sup>L. But they are probably meant in more general allusions to assistants of Flamines and Flaminicae: Dion. Hal. ii 22<sup>1-2</sup>, Macr. iii 8<sup>7</sup>, Serv. Aen. xi 543 & 558. Latte p407 & n3.
35. Scott Ryberg ch4-7.
36. Presumably because they did not lose any life-fluid; cf Onians pl09 n4.
37. Prop. iv 8<sup>3-14</sup> - (13-14) si fuerint castae, redeunt in colla parentum, // clamantque agricolae 'fertilis annus erit', Ael. NA xi 16 has Lauinium wrongly. Gagé ch2c, Latte pl67 & n1.
38. Dion. Hal. i 76<sup>3</sup>, ii 67<sup>1-2</sup>, Fest. p454<sup>23-7</sup>L.
39. Ovid F iv 296 - colunt sanctos uirginitate focos. See Chapter Two pp27 & 30.
40. Cic. Pro Font. 46-49, also Hor. Od. i 2<sup>25-28</sup>.
41. Gell. i 12<sup>1-5</sup>, but Dio lv 22<sup>5</sup> - freedmen's daughters eligible (though not chosen) in AD5. Warde Fowler pl47 etc. & H.J.Rose De uirginibus Vestalibus Mnem. liv 1926 p440 see them as the descendants of the king's daughters; see also Latte pl08ff, Balsdon FW chl2.
42. Tert. Ad ux. i 6<sup>4</sup>. Gagé ch2c.
43. Livy xxvii 37<sup>7</sup> - 207 BC, 37<sup>12</sup> - they sang in long dresses while two statues of Juno Regina were carried in procession, xxxi 12<sup>9</sup> - 200BC. Gagé ch2a.

## NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 44 - CHAPTER SEVEN 58

44. Obseq. 27a - 133BC, 34 - 119BC, 36 - 117BC, 43 - in 104BC 27 uirgines dona canentes tulerunt, while the populus gave offerings to Ceres and Proserpina, 46 - in 99BC virgins, populus & matronae gave presents to Ceres & Proserpina, 48 - in 97BC statues of Juno Regina set up with help of 27 virgins, who lustrated the city, 53 - in 92BC they lustrated and sang while the populus made offerings to Ceres and Proserpina. Gag  ch2c.
45. Dion. Hal. iii 67<sup>2-3</sup> - punishment for unchastity in Vestal Virgins.
46. Obseq. 37. Gag  ch2c.
47. Plut. QR 102 - with various reasons, Paul.-Fest. p107<sup>28</sup> - 108<sup>2</sup>L, Macr. i 16<sup>36</sup>. Latte p95 n4.
48. We do have Paul.-Fest. p107<sup>28</sup> - 108<sup>2</sup>L - his (diebus) lustrantur, Macr. i 16<sup>36</sup>; perhaps also Ter. Phorm. 49 - ubi initiabunt.
49. Plut. QR 102, Paul.-Fest. p107<sup>28</sup> - 108<sup>2</sup>L, Ulp. fr. 15<sup>2</sup>, 16<sup>1a</sup>, Tert. De idol. 16<sup>3</sup>, Macr. i 16<sup>36</sup>. Gag  ch4b. This was of course a private naming ceremony: see E.Peruzzi Origini di Roma I La famiglia Firenze 1970 ch8 who suggests that a girl's praenomen was taboo; in any case she had to alter her official name on marriage.
50. A suggestion of L.L.Tels-de Jong Sur quelques divinit s romaines de la naissance et de la proph tie Delft 1959 ch8, and cf also the obverse suggestion of Gag  ch4a that maternal aunts might possibly have been godmothers.
51. Suet. Nero 6<sup>2</sup>.
52. H.Petersen The numeral praenomina of the Romans TAPhA xciii 1962 p347. But according to Peruzzi op.cit. ch8 these female names were technically cognomina.
53. Varro in Non. p559L.
54. Auson. Parent. 6<sup>3-4</sup>.
55. Auson. Parent. 11<sup>5-6</sup>.
56. Hist. Aug. Albin. 4<sup>6-7</sup>.
57. Macr. i 16<sup>6</sup>.
58. John Chrys. Ad Cor. i Hom. 12<sup>7</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 59 - CHAPTER SEVEN 73

59. Ovid Ibis 209-225 - ill omened because of greyness, day of national disaster, owl, Pliny NH xxviii 33 - Pythagorean view that an odd number of vowels in the name indicated weaknesses on the right side of the body, an even number, on the left, Suet. Nero 6<sup>2</sup> - bad omen that Nero was named after Claudius, Hist. Aug. Albin. 5<sup>3-10</sup> - various good omens seen at birth and in infancy. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch8.
60. Auson. Parent. 11<sup>5-8</sup>.
61. Serv. E 4<sup>1</sup>, but cf Verg. E 4<sup>62-63</sup> (reading doubtful however).
62. Tert. De anima 39 - ultima die Facta scribunda aduocantur, but they must be the Fata scribentia here. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch8, Radke Fata scribunda.
63. Macr. i 16<sup>36</sup> - a nono die nascentium nuncupata. Tels-de Jong op.cit. ch7, Radke Nundina.
64. Plaut. Truc. 423-4 - on the fifth day (= the Greek 'Αμφιδρόμια ), Tert. De idol. 16<sup>3</sup> - on the dies lustricus, Donat. on Ter Phorm. 49<sup>2</sup> - 'ubi initiabunt' ... sacris. De Marchi ch3(2).
65. Hist. Aug. Albin. 5<sup>8</sup>.
66. Cic. De diu. i 78.
67. Cic. De diu. i 78.
68. Cic. De diu. i 79.
69. Livy i 39<sup>1-2</sup>, Ovid F vi 635-6, Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>4</sup>, Val. Max. i 6<sup>1</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>; but cf Verg. Aen. vii 73-80 - Lavinia's hair on fire during Latinus' sacrifice meant fame for her but war for her people.
70. St. Aug. CD iv 34. De Marchi ch3(2).
71. Jos. Ant. xix 2<sup>11</sup>, Suet. Cal. 25<sup>4</sup>, Dio lix 28<sup>7</sup>.
72. Varro in Non. p246L, Lact. Inst. i 20<sup>36</sup>, St. Aug. CD iv 8,11,21,24,34; cf Varro in Donat. on Ter. Phorm. 49<sup>3</sup> - Cuba. Radke Cunina & Cuba.
73. Varro in Non. p155L - cum primo cibo et potione initiarent pueros, sacrificabantur ab edulibus Edusae, a potione Potinae nutrici, Varro in Donat. on Ter. Phorm. 49<sup>3</sup> - Edulia, Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>8</sup> - Edula, St. Aug. CD iv 11 & 34 & vi 9 - Educa. As usual W.F.Otto Römische Sondergötter RM lxiv 1909 p449 is sceptical and inclines to regard them as gens gods; Radke Edula, Potina.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 74 - CHAPTER SEVEN 88

74. Gagé ch4b.
75. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>10</sup> - Paentina, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - de pauore infantium Paentia nuncupetur. Radke Paentia.
76. Varro in Non. p853L - Statano et Statilino, quorum nomina habent scripta pontifices, Tert. De anima 39 - prima etiam constitutio infantis super terram Statinae deae sacrum est, Ad nat. ii 11<sup>8</sup> - Statina, Non. p853L - puerilitatis praesides deos (= interpretation of Varro), St. Aug. CD iv 21 - Statilinus. Otto op.cit. suggests the name was really a place name; Radke Statanus, Statilinus, Statina.
77. Varro in Non. p853L, also Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>7</sup> - Farinus, Non. p853L - Fabulinus. Otto op.cit. sceptical; Radke Fabulinus, Farinus.
78. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>9</sup>, St. Aug. CD iv 21 - commendare ... deae Adeonae adeuntes, Abeonae abeuntes, vii 3. Radke Abeona wonders if it is merely a double name.
79. Only St. Aug. CD vii 3 - (Juno) Iterduca est pueris. Otherwise referred to brides. Radke Iterduca.
80. St. Aug. CD vii 3 - quae faciat pueris bonam mentem.
81. Such as dentition, hernia, childish terrors, etc.: eg Pliny NH xxviii 257-9, xxx 135-9, xxxii 137, xxxiii 84; cf Serv. Aen. x 76 - Piso says Pilumnum dictum quia pellat mala infantiae!
82. Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>101</sup>.
83. Isid. Etym. viii 11<sup>102</sup>. E.E.Burris The place of the Roman child in superstition and religion summary in TAPhA lxi 1930 pxli.
84. Ovid F vi 131-8.
85. Ovid F vi 151-172 - she sprinkles water also, makes sacrifice and prays, bars the window with a whitethorn stick. Warde Fowler pl32, and see Chapter Two ppl4-16.
86. Pers. 2<sup>31-40</sup> - grandmother or aunt or nurse, Pliny NH xxviii 39 - nurse.
87. Pliny NH xxviii 39 - like the phallic emblem of a general, xxviii 257, xxx 138, & perhaps also Plaut. Mil. 1399 - beads.
88. Gagé ch1a, ch2b - where he notes that at Livy xxvii 37 the virgins wear special long dresses for the supplicatio, ch3a - virgins perhaps once had to weave their wedding-dresses?



NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 89 - CHAPTER SEVEN 100

89. Gagē chlc, Latte pl33, Radke Sororia unhelpful.
90. Arnob. ii 67 - puellarum togulas Fortunam defertis ad Virginalem?  
Gagē chla suggests the statue in a temple in the Forum Boarium which was draped with 2 togae praetextae might be this Fortuna: Non p278L.
91. Varro in Non. pp863 & 869L = Varro Sat. Men. p212<sup>5-6</sup> Riese - dolls, balls, hairbands & underwear dedicated to the Lares, Pers. 2<sup>70</sup> & Schol. - dolls dedicated to Venus, Lact. Inst. ii 4<sup>12</sup> - ditto. See Chapter Six pl56.
92. Petr. 29, 73 - Trimalchio's slave, Mart. iii 6<sup>4</sup>, Stat. Silu. ii 1<sup>52-54</sup> - a dead boy did not reach this stage, Juv. 3<sup>186-7</sup>, 8<sup>166</sup>. De Marchi ch3(2) - a Greek custom?, Gagē chla & 3a.
93. Tac. A xiv 15 - Nero aged 21, Suet. Cal. 10<sup>1</sup> - Gaius in 19th year on the same day as he assumed the toga uirilis, Nero 12<sup>4</sup> - Nero on the same day as he assumed the toga uirilis, Dio xlviii 34 - Octavian aged 23, Gk Anth. vi 161 - Marcellus aged about 17.
94. Onians pp232-3.
95. Petr. 29.
96. Suet. Nero 12<sup>4</sup>.
97. Mart. iii 6 - feast day, Tac. A xiv 15 - Nero instituted the Ludi Iuuenalium to mark the event, Petr. 74 - drinking & feasting till dawn to celebrate Trimalchio's slave's depositio, Juv. 3<sup>186-7</sup> - offerings of cakes, Dio xlviii 34<sup>3</sup> - Octavian held celebrations.
98. Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>11</sup>, St. Aug. CD iv 11 - quae adultos barba induat, both presumably using Varro. De Marchi ch3(2), Latte pl82 nl, Radke Barbata.
99. Stat. Silu. iii 4<sup>6-7</sup> & Mart. ix 16<sup>1-3</sup> & 17<sup>3-4</sup> & 36<sup>11-12</sup> - Domitian's favourite dedicates his hair to Asclepius, Mart. i 31<sup>2</sup> - a favourite dedicates his to Apollo, Juv. 3<sup>186-7</sup> - patron dedicates favourite's hair with offerings of cakes, Tert. De anima 39.
100. Cic. De amic. 1 - C when 15, Ad Att. vi 1<sup>12</sup> - his nephew at 16, Nic. Dam. Life of Aug. 4 - at 14, Suet. Aug. 26<sup>2</sup> - Gaius & Lucius when 14, Cal. 10<sup>1</sup> - in 19th year, Vita Verg. 6 - V on his 15 birthday, Gell. x 28<sup>1</sup> - pueri until 17, Dio lv 22<sup>4</sup> - Postumus Agrippa when 17,

## NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 100 contd. - CHAPTER SEVEN 110

- 100 contd. Hist. Aug. Marc. 4<sup>5</sup> - in 15th year; cf Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 24<sup>1</sup> - ward was in care of tutor until 14th year, Tert. De anima 38 - puberty from 14th year, Macr. vii 7<sup>6</sup> & Somn. Scip. i 6 - puberty supposed to occur at 14. Onians ppl46 & 264.
101. Cic. Ad Att. vi 1<sup>12</sup>, Ovid F iii 771-788 - Liber = youth & father, = 'free', also convenient time because country people were in town anyway.
102. Rose RGR p226, Warde Fowler pp54-56, Onians p264, Balsdon LL ch3.
103. Suet. Vita Verg. 6, also Plut. Ant. 72<sup>3</sup> - when Alexandria was rejoicing and feasting. Warde Fowler p56 - Octavian 18 Oct., Tiberius 24 April, Nero 7 July.
104. Apul. Apol. 98, Met. v 28, Tert. De anima 56<sup>5</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p506<sup>1-2</sup>L - necdum pubertate uestitus est!, Non. p65L - not yet clothed in hair or else in Vesta = chastity!
105. Gell. v 19<sup>7</sup>, Apul. Apol. 98, Tert. De anima 56<sup>5</sup>, Paul.-Fest. p506<sup>1-2</sup>L - uestitus est pubertate!
106. Pers. 5<sup>31</sup> & Schol. - bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit, Porph. & Schols. Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>65</sup>, hence also Petr. 60 - Lares bullatos, & statuettes of the Lares wearing the bulla that have been found.
107. Pliny NH viii 194 - tirones induuntur, Fest. p342<sup>30-33</sup>L - (not explicit) uestimenta uirilia quae patres liberis suis conficienda curant ominis causa, p364<sup>21-25</sup>L - regilla tunica. Gagé chla.
108. Cic. Pro Sest. 144, Phil. ii 44, De amic. 1, Livy xxvi 19<sup>5</sup>, xlii 34<sup>4</sup>, Val. Max. v 4<sup>4</sup> & inc. auct. lib. 3, Sen. Epist. i 4<sup>2</sup>, Plut. Ant. 72<sup>3</sup> - τέλειον, Brut. 14<sup>3</sup> - ἀνδρεῖον, Pliny Y Epist. i 9, Suet. Aug. 38<sup>2</sup>, 94, Claud. 2<sup>2</sup>, Galba 4<sup>3</sup>, Vita Verg. 6, Appian BC iv 5<sup>30</sup> - τὴν τῶν τελείων ...στολήν, Apul. Apol. 70, 73, Fest. p364<sup>21-25</sup>L, Hist. Aug. Marc. 4<sup>5</sup>, Serv. E 4<sup>49</sup>. De Marchi ch3(2), Rose PC ch7, PW Tirocinium fori, Balsdon LL ch3.
109. Cat. 68<sup>15</sup>, Cic. Ad Att. v 20<sup>9</sup>, vi 1<sup>12</sup>, ix 19<sup>1</sup>, Nic. Dam. Life of Aug. 4 - καθαρὰ, Phaedr. Fab. iii 10<sup>10</sup>, Pliny NH viii 194, Stat. Silu. v 2<sup>67</sup> - albens, Plut. Ant. 72<sup>3</sup> - ἀπόρρουρον, Tert. De idol. 16<sup>1</sup>.
110. Ovid F iii 771 - connected with Liber, Trist. iv 10<sup>28-29</sup>, Prop. iv 1<sup>132</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 111 - CHAPTER SEVEN 123

111. Cic. Ad Att. ix 19<sup>1</sup>.
112. Suet. Claud. 2<sup>2</sup>.
113. Cic. Pro Mur. 69 - even humble boys accompanied, Pliny Y Epist. i 9, Plut. Brut. 14<sup>3</sup> - Cassius' son accompanied by many, App. BC iv 5<sup>30</sup>; but Suet. Claud. 2<sup>2</sup> - sine sollemni officio, Cal. 10<sup>1</sup> - sine ullo honore.
114. Aug. Res gest. 3<sup>1-6</sup> - (Gaius & Lucius) deducti sunt in forum, Nic. Dam. Life of Aug. 4, Sen. Epist. i 4<sup>2</sup>, Plut. Brut. 14<sup>3</sup>, Tac. A iii 29 - Nero, Suet. Aug. 26<sup>2</sup> - Gaius & Lucius, Tib. 15<sup>1</sup> - Drusus, Nero 7<sup>2</sup>.
115. Val. Max. v 4<sup>4</sup>, Suet. Claud. 2<sup>2</sup>, Serv. E 4<sup>49</sup>, cf App. BC iv 5<sup>30</sup> - (unspecifically) ἐπὶ θυοῖας.
116. Serv. E 4<sup>49</sup> - boy's adolescence sacred to Jupiter because of this excursion to Capitol. De Marchi ch3(2) - Liber, Warde Fowler p56 - Pubertas or Liber, PW Tirocinium fori.
117. Dion. Hal. iv 15<sup>5</sup>. Balsdon LL ch3, Gagé ch1a. According to one source boys did not officially receive their prenames until this day (& girls until marriage): Val. Max. inc. auct. lib. 3 - praenomina imponi moris fuisse Q. Scaeuola auctor est.
118. Cic. Ad Att. i 18<sup>3</sup> - anniuersaria sacra Iuuentutis, Tert. Ad nat. ii 11<sup>11</sup> - Iuuenta nouorum togatorum, Paul.-Fest. p92<sup>24</sup>L, St. Aug. CD iv 11. Scott Ryberg ch3, Gagé ch2c, Latte p256 & n1 & n2, Radke Iuventas.
119. Aug. Res gest. 4<sup>1-8</sup>.
120. Gell. v 19<sup>7</sup> - now adoptable by adrogatio.
121. Latte pl00 n3. Cf Fulgent. Serm.ant. p389 G & R on suggrundaria = burials of infants under 40 days old. J.E.King Infant burial CR xvii 1903 p83.
122. Tac. A xiii 17, Serv. Aen. xi 143.
123. Plaut. As. 595, Verg. Aen. vi 429, xi 28, Juv. 15<sup>138-140</sup>, Pliny NH vii 72, Serv. Aen. vi 429, xi 28. Various reasons suggested: Rose PC ch7 - children less important, see also H.J.Rose Nocturnal funerals in Rome QJ xvii 1923 pl91; Onians p264 - unripe because Genius not effective, P.Boyancé Funus acerbum REA liv 1952 p275 - prematurely dead might turn into nasty spirits.

NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 124 - CHAPTER SEVEN 141

124. Plut. Numa 12<sup>2</sup>. Infants were merely potential members of the community: Peruzzi op.cit. ch9.
125. Rossbach ch2-4.
126. Fest. p282<sup>22-25</sup>L, Non. pl61L.
127. Cat. 61<sup>121</sup>.
128. Rossbach ch1a, 3-5. See also Chapter Six pl64, also pl62 on Hymenaeus.
129. Varro LL vii 34, cf Paul.-Fest. p55<sup>23-6</sup> - cumera = camillus! Latte p407 n3.
130. Cat. 61<sup>36-40</sup> - girls, Auson. Cento nupt. 68-69 - boys and girls.
131. Rossbach ch3 & 6. Cf also Auson. Cento nupt. 57-58 - boys carry presents.
132. Varro in Non. p245L = Sat. Men. p95 Riese - obscenis uerbis.
133. Festus no longer knows what the term means: either obscena shouted by children at weddings: Fest. p282<sup>30</sup> - 284<sup>2</sup>L; or children's speech without any obscena: Fest. p282<sup>30</sup> - 284<sup>2</sup>L & Paul.-Fest. p283<sup>17-18</sup>L.
134. Cat. 61<sup>128-135</sup>, Paul.-Fest. pl79<sup>8-9</sup>L - secundum ... auspicium, Serv. E 8<sup>29</sup>.
135. Serv. Aen. iv 167.
136. Cat. 61<sup>181-3</sup> - mitte brachiolum teres,/praetextate, 61<sup>231</sup> - claudite ostia, uirgines.
137. Stat. Silu. i 6<sup>43-45</sup>.
138. Mart. v 84<sup>1-2</sup>.
139. Hist. Aug. Carac. 1, and also Hist. Aug. Aurel. 50 - A's daughter enjoyed the Sigillaria.
140. Hor. Epist. ii 1<sup>139-144</sup>.
141. Verg. Aen. vii 71-72 - Lavinia assistant to Latinus, Ovid Trist. v 5<sup>11-12</sup> - boy (=slave?) hands O incense and wine for the birthday offering for his wife, Val. Max. iii 3<sup>1</sup> - noble boys assistants to Alexander, one held turibulum, Suet. Dom. 17<sup>2</sup> - puer, qui curae Larum cubiculi ... assistens. De Marchi ch2(2), Rose RGR pl90, Scott Ryberg ch11, Boyce index Assistants - camillus - usually one, occasionally more, with Genius and Lares on wall-paintings.



NOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN 142 - CHAPTER SEVEN 157

142. Tib. i 10<sup>23-24</sup>.
143. Prud. C.Symm. i 201-7.
144. Rose RGR pl90 & De uirginibus Vestalibus Mnem. liv 1926 p440.
145. Plaut. Aul. 23-25.
146. Varro in Non. p229L - in priuatis domibus pueri liberi et puerae ministrabant, Col. xii 4<sup>3</sup>. Absolutely nothing in Deonna-Renard.
147. Pet. 31, etc. - slave boys, Quint. Decl. 301 - filia, cf Athen. Deipn. v 192b - amongst the ancient Greeks the sons of the free poured out the wine. De Marchi ch2(2) - usually slaves or freedmen, Rose RGR pl77 - a boy.
148. Serv. Aen. i 730 - a boy announces deos propitios.
149. Petr. 60.
150. Passages cited below at nl51-2 and perhaps included at Censor. De die nat. 3<sup>5</sup> - singuli homines.
151. Plaut. Epid. 638-9 & Rud. 1171.
152. Ter. Phorm. 48.
153. Tib. i 10<sup>15-16</sup>, and Tib. ii 1<sup>59-60</sup> - a boy (probably a slave) made a flower-crown for the Lares in pastoral times.
154. Prud. C.Symm. i 208-211.
155. Auson. Parent. 10 - to his infant son, Carm. epigr. 1164<sup>3-8</sup> - to 7-year-old boy, CIL i 1223 - to 6-year-old boy, i 1837 - to girl, v 337 - to 14-year-old boy, who also got a public funeral, vi 17194 - to 2 babies, set up by slave parents perhaps, vi 28706 - to 3-year-old girl, set up by parents & grandparents, viii 22993 (Byz.) - to 6-year-old alumnus, set up by patrona, viii 24687 (Carth.) - to 5-year-old alumnus, xiv 913 - to 10-year-old boy, xiv 2786 - to 7-year-old boy. Epitaphs to nubile but unmarried girls (=uigines): CIL vi 20432 - to 18-year-old virgin, vi 20892 - 14-year-old, vi 22704 - 13-year-old, vi 23823 - 12-year-old, vi 25808 - 15-year-old, vi 28756 - 12-year-old. See also M.K.Hopkins The age of Roman girls at marriage Pop. Stud. xviii 1964-5 p309.
156. Stat. Silu. v 5<sup>8-12</sup> etc.
157. Lucr. iii 894-9, Plut. Cato Mai. 20<sup>2</sup>.

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 1 - CHAPTER EIGHT 14

1. Sen. De clem. i 24<sup>1</sup> - a sententia to this effect was not passed by the Senate; cf Petr. 57 - nemo tamen sciit, utrum seruus essem an liber (probably from his behaviour). W.L.Westermann The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity Philadelphia 1955 chl2.
2. See Chapter Six pl40.
3. Hor. Sat. i 2<sup>116-8</sup>, Petr. 45 & 75, Sen. Contr. iv 10 - impudicitia in ingenuo crimen est, in seruo necessitas.
4. D-S Servi, FW Sklaven, Westermann op.cit. chl2.
5. Fest. p460<sup>32-35</sup>L, also Plut. QR 100.
6. Ovid F vi 627-636 - captiua (633), vi 783 - serua, Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>3</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 24 - ancillam, Plut. QR 100, Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>, Arnob. v 18. Thought to be her son by the Lar, cf the fact that slaves were connected with the Lares: M.C.Waites The nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art AJA xxiv 1920 p241.
7. Ovid F vi 783-4 - conuenit et seruis, serua quia Tullius ortus constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae. Warde Fowler pl62-3, Radke Fortuna.
8. Dion. Hal. iv 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>.
9. See Chapter Six ppl48-9.
10. Ovid F vi 481-558 and Plut. QR 16 with aetiological myths, Warde Fowler pl54-5, Radke Matuta.
11. Chapter Five pl08 and n9. Cf Sen. Epist. iv 31<sup>11</sup> - animus (=god in human body) in Roman knight, freedman and slave alike. Onians ppl28-9.
12. Plaut. Persa 108 & 263, CIL vi 8434 = ILS 1523 - deis et Genio Rhodonis, CIL vi 8958 = ILS 1784 - Iunoni Dorcadis.
13. Chapter Six ppl48-151.
14. Republican: CIL i 681 (98BC) - hisce ministris Laribus (1 freedman and 13 slaves) repairs were made, CIL i 602 (58BC) - dedication to Lares by 17 slaves. Warde Fowler p280, Susan Treggiari Roman freedmen during the late republic Oxford 1969 ch5(1) - slaves were probably ministri in the republic. Later: CIL v 792 - Larib. sacr. mag. dant freedmen and (probably) slaves, viii 12918 (Carth.) - custos Lar. min. Bömer URS iA chl. See also Chapter Four pp96-98 & Chapter Five ppl31-2.

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 15 - CHAPTER EIGHT 24

15. Pliny NH iii 66. CAH x chl4(9) & 15(3), Scott Ryberg ch5.
16. Ovid F v 145-6.
17. Livy xxxiv 7<sup>2-3</sup>.
18. Dio lv 8, CIL vi 446-7 - dedication by ministri primi (slaves), CIL vi 449 = IIS 3617 (AD83) - restoration by magistri anni lxxxxii (freedmen), CIL vi 450 (AD98/9) - repair by magistri anni ci (freedmen), vi 451 (AD100) - repair by mag. anni cvi (freedmen), vi 452 (AD109) - repair by mag. anni cxxi (freedmen), CIL vi 30957 - dedication by mag. anni noni (free & freedmen). G.Niebling Zum Kult des Genius und der Laren F&F 1950 pl47 and Laribus Augustis magistri primi Hist. v 1956 p303.
19. W.Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Tübingen 1963, Scott Ryberg ch5. For statuettes of the Lares used in the rites see the Vatican altar = CIL vi 876, a Lateran relief described by Helbig i p734 (no.1021), & the Villa Medici relief described in PW.
20. See esp. Helbig op.cit. i p64 (no.83 = CIL vi 445), p759 (no.1058), ii p518 (no.1741).
21. Suet. Aug. 31<sup>4</sup>.
22. Suet. Aug. 31<sup>4</sup>. Niebling op.cit. suggests the dates 1 May & 1 August; Scott Ryberg ch5.
23. CIL vi 448 - altar dedicated by freedman magistri, CIL vi 36809 - altar dedicated by slaves, also described by Helbig op.cit. ii p525 (no.1750); cf CIL vi 30959 - dedication by the emperors Septimius Severus & Caracalla. Bömer URS iA chl. And see the evidence cited in nl8 above.
24. CIL xi 3616 (from Caere) = Helbig op.cit. i p759 (no.1058); Maria F. Squarciapino L'ara dei Lari di Ostia Arch. Class. iv 1952 p204 on a compitum belonging to the new division of Ostia into regions in the 1st century AD, E.Bickel Pagani 1) Die Collegia paganorum als Kultträger der religio Larum und der Kaiseranbetung auf dem Lande RM xcvi 1954 p3, Scott Ryberg ch7 - evidence from Pompeii, Pettau in Austria, Aquileia & Caere.

## NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 25 - CHAPTER EIGHT 39

25. Macr. i 11<sup>36</sup> - & liberae pariter ancillaeque sacrificant, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p269 Fasti Siluii. Warde Fowler pl78-9, Latte pl06.
26. Plut. Rom. 29, Cam. 33, Auson. Ecl. 23 de fer. 9-10 - slave women dressed in the stola of the matrona, a misunderstanding according to Latte pl06, likewise CIL i<sup>2</sup> p269 Fasti Siluii.
27. Fest. p460<sup>32-35</sup>L.
28. Plut. QR 100 - ἑορταῖς οὖσι, Fest. p460<sup>32-35</sup>L - seruorum dies festus. Warde Fowler pl99; Latte pl73 suggests that the reason might be that slaves were originally Latins worshipping their own goddess.
29. Plut. QR 100; cf perhaps here Colum. i 6<sup>19</sup> - slaves not to wash too often in the baths. Warde Fowler p201, Latte pl73, Balsdon LL ch3(7).
30. Varro LL vi 24. Waites op.cit.
31. CIL vi 9288 = ILS 7353 - ex consensu decurionum et familiae uoluntate, CIL viii 24686 (Carth.) - Colleg. Mulion., CIL xiv 2112 = ILS 7212. De Marchi CG ch4, R.H.Barrow Slavery in the Roman empire London 1928 ch6, Bömer URS iA chl,2&4, Westermann op.cit. chl2 & 16.
32. Cic. In Pis. 9, Suet. Caes. 42<sup>3</sup>. PW Lar, Latte p91 n3.
33. CIL i 1638, CIL vi 2335 = ILS 1967, CIL vi 7788 = ILS 8219, CIL x 3147 = ILS 8268: all referring to freedmen; CIL vi 14537 = ILS 8138 - uerna. Samter FF ch3, Barrow op.cit. ch6, Westermann op.cit. chl2. See Chapter Four pp88 & 102. Cf Petr. 65 for a nouendialis cena for a slave freed at death.
34. Hor. Sat. i 8<sup>8-10</sup>. Bömer URS iA ch4.
35. Plaut. Epid. 638-9 - crescent brooch & gold ring, and Ter. Phorm. 46-49.
36. Hor. Od. iii 17<sup>14-16</sup> - assisting at birthday sacrifice, Ovid Trist. v 5<sup>11-12</sup> - handing incense.
37. Verg. Aen. xi 34 - at Pallas' funeral, Lucan ii 21-24.
38. Plaut. Curc. 213 - girlfriend, Petr. 57 - 1000 denarii paid for self, girlfriend paid for too, Mart. ii 68<sup>4</sup> - totis pillea sarcinis redemi.
39. Chapter Five pl25.



NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 40 - CHAPTER EIGHT 49

40. Cic. Balb. 24 - publice, Sidon. Carm. ii 544-8 - emperor Anthemius as consul during Kal. Jan. celebrations of AD 468, CIL vi 1826 = ILS 1897 - freedman of college, CIL ix 4112 = ILS 4381 (AD 172) - freedman and freedwoman of the town, and CIL passim for imperial freedmen.
41. Cic. Top. 10, Sen. De uita beata 24<sup>3</sup> - iustae libertatis, Gaius i 17.
42. Cic. Top. 10, Boet. on Cic. Top. 10, Gaius i 17 & 44. D-S & PW Manumissio, Barrow op.cit. ch7, Treggiari op.cit. intro.3.
43. See Chapter Five pl26.
44. Boet. Cic. Top. 10 - quam lictor manumittendi serui capiti imponens eundem serum in libertatem uindicabat, dicens quaedam uerba solennia, also Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>76-77</sup> - uindicta ... // imposita, Pers. 5<sup>174-5</sup> - lictor quam iactat, Fest. p460<sup>13-17</sup>L - adsertor, Claud. De IV cons. Hon. 615, Gaius iv 16, Schol. Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>75</sup> - praetor eum uirga sua semel percusserit, Schol. Pers. 5<sup>88</sup> - qua manumittendi a praetore in capite pulsantur, 5<sup>175</sup> - uirga qua a lictore percutitur.
45. Vindicta: Plaut. Curc. 212, Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>76</sup>, Ovid AA 615, Livy ii 5<sup>10</sup> - derived from Vindicus, but see Ogilvie ad.loc., Pers. 5<sup>88</sup> & Schol., 5<sup>125</sup>, Cic. Top. 10 & Boet., Pliny Y Ep. vii 16<sup>4</sup>, Gaius i 17-18, i 44, iv 16, Claud. De IV cons. Hon. 612-8 - derived from Vindex, CIL x7452 = ILS 8377. Virga/uirgula: Schol. Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>75</sup>, Schol. Pers. 5<sup>175</sup>, 5<sup>88</sup>, Boet. Cic. Top. 10. Festuca: Plaut. Mil. 961, Gaius iv 16, Pers. 5<sup>175</sup>. The uindicta was a symbol of power: D-S Vindicta, R.G.Nisbet The festuca and the alapa of manumission JRS viii1913 pl who also suggests that festuca (= stalk) was maybe a symbol of the thing claimed(?). See also Wagenvoort chl for magic contact, Treggiari op.cit. intro.3.
46. Gaius iv 16.
47. Chapter Five ppl26-7.
48. Plaut. Amph. 462 - raso capite caluos, Polyb. xxx 18<sup>3</sup>, Livy xiv 44<sup>19</sup>, Non. p343L, Serv. Aen. viii 564. D-S Libertus. According to the improbable view of Samter FF ch3 hair was a substitution sacrifice.
49. Plaut. Amph. 462, Dion. Hal. iv 24<sup>6</sup>, Polyb. xxx 18<sup>3</sup>, Livy xxiv 16<sup>18</sup> - pilleati aut lana alba uelatis capitibus, xxiv 32<sup>9</sup>, xxx 45<sup>5</sup>, xxxviii 55<sup>2</sup>, xlv 44<sup>19</sup>, Val. Max. v 2<sup>5</sup>, Petr. 41, Pers. 5<sup>82</sup>, Mart. ii 68<sup>4</sup>,

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 49 contd. - CHAPTER EIGHT 61

- 49 contd. Gell. vi 4<sup>1</sup>, Suet. Tib. 4<sup>2</sup>, Tert. De spect. 21, Serv. Aen. viii 564, Cod. Just. vii 6<sup>5</sup>. Cf Suet. Nero 57<sup>1</sup> - plebs pilleata with joy at Nero's death. Cf the priestly pilleus: Fest. p484<sup>32</sup> - 486<sup>2</sup>L, Isid. Etym. xix 21<sup>3</sup>, xix 30<sup>5</sup>. D-S Pileus, Libertus, FW Pilleus.
50. FW Pilleus; Samter FF ch3 - substitution sacrifice theory; Onians ppl45-6.
51. Polyb. xxx 18<sup>3</sup>.
52. Varro in Serv. Aen. viii 564. Cf CIL vi 30702 - dedicated to Feronia by a slave woman.
53. Warde Fowler ppl99 & 253-4, Radke Feronia.
54. Livy xxii 1<sup>18</sup>. Latte pl90. According to Serv. Aen. viii 564 freedmen got their pilleus in her temple.
55. Serv. Aen. viii 564. Latte pl39 n3. For the shrine with a spring sacred to water-nymph Feronia see Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>24</sup>, Serv. Aen. vii 799 - near Tarracina, Porph. on Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>24</sup> - near Tarracina.
56. Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>65-66</sup>, Porph. & Schol. ad loc. - dictum urbane from puberty rite, Mart. iii 29 - has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas.
57. CIL i 1617, also CIL i 972 - Q. Mucius Q. l. Trupho, ser. uouit, leiber solu. l. m. Bonae Deae sacr., CIL i 972 = vi 59 = IIS 3491, CIL xiv 3456 = IIS 3526 - sancto Siluano uotum ... ob libertatem.
58. Cic. Att. iv 15<sup>1</sup> - freedmen combining names of Cicero and Atticus, Hor. Sat. ii 5<sup>32</sup>, Pers. 5<sup>78-79</sup>. D-S Libertus, Westermann op.cit. ch11, Onians ppl45-6.
59. Pliny Y Ep. ii 17<sup>9</sup>, also Plaut. Epid. 725-7 - freedman gets liveli-hood. FW Libertini.
60. Above p206.
61. Lucil. in Porph. Hor. Sat. i 5<sup>87</sup> - seruorum est festus dies (Sigillaria), Dio lx 19<sup>3</sup>, Epict. Diss. iv 1<sup>58</sup>, Tert. De idol. 10, Auson. Ecl. 23<sup>16</sup>; cf Hor. Sat. ii 7<sup>4</sup> - libertate Decembri, Mart. xi 6<sup>4</sup> & xiv 1<sup>2</sup> - pilleata Roma. Warde Fowler pp272-3, D-S & FW Saturnalia, P. Braun Les tabous des 'Feriae' L'Année sociol. 1959 p49, Latte p254 & Chapter Five ppl28-130.

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 62 - CHAPTER EIGHT 73

62. CIL i p279 Fasti Siluii 17 Dec.
63. Macr. i 7<sup>26</sup>, also Cato De agr. 57 - more wine, Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>4</sup> - freedom, Sen. Epist. 12<sup>3</sup> - slave gets sigillaria from master, 47<sup>14</sup> - equality, Petr. 58 - time for laughing and joking, Mart. xiv 1<sup>3-4</sup> - uerna plays with dice, xiv 79 - playing, Lucian Sat. 13<sup>13</sup> - equality, Anth. Lat. 395<sup>47-48</sup> Riese - uerna plays with master.
64. Accius in Macr. i 7<sup>37</sup> - cum dominis famuli epulentur, Sen. Epist. 47<sup>14</sup> - cum seruis domini uescerentur, Athen. Deipn. xiv 639b - masters waited on slaves and did their jobs, Lucian Sat. 2 & 13<sup>18</sup> - slaves feasted by masters, Justin Epit. hist. Phil. xliii 1<sup>4</sup> - in conuiuiis serui cum dominis recumbant, Solin. i 35 - slaves feasted by masters, Hist. Aug. Ver. 7 - uernae in diningroom at Saturnalia and on feast days, Auson. Ecl. 23<sup>16</sup> - famulantur eri, Macr. i 10<sup>22</sup> & 11<sup>1</sup> - masters feasted with slaves, i 12<sup>7</sup> & 24<sup>22-3</sup> - slaves feasted by masters, Lyd. De mens. iii 22 & iv 42 - slaves feasted by masters. Latte p254 n3, Balsdon LL ch3(7).
65. Meslin ch2(2).
66. Cato De agr. 57 - more wine, Cic. Ad Att. vii 7 - C will not go to his villa so as not to disturb his slaves, Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>4</sup> - freedom, Colum. xi 1<sup>19</sup> - largitionibus.
67. Paul.-Fest. p273<sup>7-12</sup>L - tot pilae, quot capita seruorum. For a discussion of oscilla see Chapter Four pp97-98.
68. Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>3-4</sup>, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Macr. i 7<sup>34</sup>.
69. Cic. In Pis. 8, Pliny NH xxxvi 204, Suet. Aug. 31<sup>4</sup>, Macr. i 7<sup>34</sup> - ludi per urbem in compitis agitabantur, CIL i p257 Fasti Siluii (Jan 4) - ludi Compitales (AD 448/9).
70. Bulard RD ch2-6.
71. Cato De agr. 5<sup>3</sup> - uilicus, Cic. De leg. ii 27 - cum dominis tum famulis, Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>3-4</sup> - slaves' festival to render slaves kindly disposed towards their masters. Bömer URS i A chl.
72. Latte p91.
73. Louise A. Holland The shrine of the Lares Compitales TAPhA lxviii 1937 p428.

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 74 - CHAPTER EIGHT 84

74. Hor. Od. iii 23<sup>1-4</sup>, 13-16, also Dion. Hal. iv 14<sup>4</sup> - slaves propitiated the Lares at the Compitalia.
75. Only late evidence: Solin. i 35, Macr. i 12<sup>7</sup>, Lydus De mens. iii 22, iv 42.
76. Cato De agr. 5<sup>3</sup> - he might offer at the compitum or hearth only at the Compitalia, De agr. 83 - slave or free could sacrifice to Mars Silvanus, Colum. i 8<sup>5</sup> & xi 1<sup>22</sup> - sacrificia with master's orders. Warde Fowler pl94 on Cato De agr. 83.
77. Cato De agr. 143<sup>2</sup>.
78. Cato De agr. 143<sup>1</sup>, cf 5<sup>4</sup>, Colum. i 8<sup>5</sup>, xi 1<sup>22</sup>.
79. Sen. Epist. 12<sup>2</sup> - swearing by his Genius, Petr. 53 - slave crucified quia Gai nostri Genio male dixerat, 57 - Genio illius gratias, CIL ii 4082 = IIS 3605 (Tarr.) - dedication to (Lares and) Genius of the master by two slaves, CIL vi 257 - to Genius of master, CIL vi 258 = IIS 3642 - to Genius of master, CIL vi 259 = IIS 3643 - to Genius of master by familia, CIL xi 356 - uilicus Genio domnic., CIL xi 818 - to Genius of master.
80. CIL v 7237 (Alp. Cott.) - slave makes dedication to Genius of father and son and to Juno of mother and daughter, CIL xi 1324 = IIS 3645 - freedman and two slaves dedicate Lar to Juno of mistress.
81. Tib. ii 1<sup>21-24</sup> - uernae join in jollifications after autumn sowing, Suet. Dom. 17<sup>2</sup> - puer, qui curae Larum cubiculi ... assistens. See Bulard RD chl for how slaves attended at offerings and sacrifices.
82. Petr. 60 - two slave boys in white tunics put Lares on table, another carries round patera and shouts 'Dii propitii'. Oeresia: Dion. Hal. iv 2<sup>1</sup>, Ovid F vi 629-630, Plut. Fort. Rom. 10<sup>323</sup>.
83. Verg. Aen. i 703-4 - cura ... flammis adolere Penates, Macr. i 24<sup>22</sup> - cui cura ... adolendi Penates.
84. CIL i 1305 - uilicus dedicates shrine of Lares, CIL ii 1980 = IIS 3604 (Baet.) - freedmen and uilicus dedicate Lar, Genius and shrine, CIL ix 2996 = IIS 3602 - slave dedicates shrine and ornamenta for Lares fam., CIL ix 3424 - two slaves dedicate Lares fam., CIL ix 3908 - two slaves dedicate Lares, CIL x 7555 - slave makes dedication to Lares, CIL xi 1324 = IIS 3645 - freedman and two slaves dedicate Lar in return for health of mistress. Bömer URS i A ch2.



## NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 85 - CHAPTER EIGHT 91

85. Plaut. Mil. glor. 1339 - slave salutes Lar fam. when leaving, Cato De agr. 143<sup>2</sup> - uilica's duty to supplicate Lar on feast days, Cic. De leg. ii 27 - cult of Lares on farm and in villa, Hor. Od. iii 23<sup>1-4</sup>, 13-16 - country girl slave gives offering to Lares (probably at the Compitalia), Epod. 2<sup>65-66</sup> - uernae gathered round Lares, Sat. i 5<sup>65-66</sup> - slave dedicates chains to Lares, Suet. Dom. 17<sup>2</sup> - slave assistant at cult of Lares cubiculi.
86. Hor. Sat. ii 6<sup>65-67</sup> - master feeds uernae from his table, Hor. Epod. 2<sup>65-66</sup> - ditis examen domus, // circum renidentis Lares, Tib. i 5<sup>25-26</sup> - Delia will learn to fondle uerna on the farm, ii 1<sup>23-24</sup> - satura bona signa coloni, Mart. iii 58<sup>22</sup> - uernae round hearth, vi 28<sup>3</sup> - cari deliciae breues patroni, vi 29, ix 16<sup>4</sup> - pun on uerna, xiv 1<sup>3-4</sup> - uerna plays with dice at Saturnalia, Stat. Silu. v 5 - uerna's death bitterly bemoaned, Hist. Aug. Ver. 7<sup>5</sup> - uernas in triclinium Saturnalibus et diebus festis semper admisit, CIL iii 14206<sup>21</sup> = ILS 7479 (Mac.) - uerna and master's son, CIL vi 14537 = ILS 8138 - place in tomb provided. Balsdon LL ch3(5). Cf Onians ppl77 n9 & 225 n2 - uerna connected with uer (time of growth).
87. CIL iii 33 = ILS 1539 (Bith.), CIL iii 1470/7974 = ILS 1513 (Dac.), CIL 2385 = ILS 1509, CIL vi 5306 = ILS 7930, CIL vi 8572 = ILS 1516, CIL vi 8552 = ILS 1759, CIL vi 8958 = ILS 1784, CIL viii 1289 = ILS 1510 (Carth.), CIL viii 3288 (Num.). Barrow op.cit. ch2.
88. Stat. Silu. v 5<sup>73-75</sup>, also CIL vi 18754 = ILS 8554 - to 4-year-old uerna evidently freed, loco f.hab.es.
89. Ter. Ad. 974-5 - worthy of manumission, CIL vi 5201 = ILS 1837 - nutrix of Germanicus' children (freed), CIL vi 16450 = ILS 8532 - nutrici et mammul.(freed), CIL vi 16592 = ILS 8531 - nutrix of two senators, CIL vi 28120 = ILS 8537 - set up by nutrix to free alumnus.
90. Mart. i 31 & v 48, ix 16 & 17, Petr. 63.
91. Petr. 73-74 - Trimalchio's slave barbatoriam fecit, excuse for drinking and feasting, Mart. i 31 & v 48 - favourite dedicates his hair to Apollo, ix 16 & 17 - Domitian's cupbearer dedicates his hair to Aesculapius, xii 84 - young slave cuts his hair off.

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 92 - CHAPTER EIGHT 98

92. Ter. Ad. 973 - slave uxorem meam, Plaut. Capt. 889 - liberorum quaerundorum causa ei, credo, uxor datast!, Cas. 67-74 - seruiles nuptiae, Apul. Met. viii 22 - conseruam coniugem ... uxòr, CIL vi 2357 = IIS 8204 - slave to his coniugi and filio, CIL vi 16592 = IIS 8531 - coniunx coiugi, CIL vi 6342 = IIS 7432c - slave to coniugi, CIL vi 17377 - coiux to slave man, CIL ix 888 - slave woman (and son) coniugi, CIL x 2514 - slave coniugi; cf IIS 8529a (Maur.) - slave mother to slave daughter nuptura.
93. Petr. 57 - contubernalem meam redemi, 71, CIL vi 9963 = IIS 7425 (AD116) - slave woman to contubernalis, CIL vi 5539 = IIS 1786 - slave for self and contubernali, CIL vi 7297 - slave for self and two contubernalibus, IIS 1611 - woman to contubernali, D-S Servi, Barrow op.cit. ch6, Westermann op.cit. chl2, Balsdon RW chl1(3), Treggiari op.cit. intro.2.
94. Tib. ii 1<sup>23</sup>, also Varro RR i 17<sup>5</sup> - slave foremen to have children, eo enim fiunt firmiores ac coniunctiores fundo, RR ii 1<sup>26</sup>, Nepos Att. 13<sup>4</sup> - home-born slaves signum continentiae ... diligentiae, Petr. 53 - 30 slave boys and 40 girls born on Trimalchio's estate at Cumae. Westermann op.cit. chl1, Balsdon RW chl1(3).
95. Colum. i 8<sup>19</sup>.
96. Free woman and slave husband and free child: CIL vi 74 = IIS 3507, CIL vi 8819, vi 11206, vi 15114, vi 29513, x 1495, x 7822, IIS 9050. Free woman and slave husband: CIL v 2385 = IIS 1509, CIL iii 33 = IIS 1539 (Bith.), CIL vi 8552 = IIS 1759, CIL viii 1289 = IIS 1510 (Carth.), CIL x 3346 = IIS 2906, CIL x 1495, IIS 9049. Slave woman and free husband: CIL vi 9525 = IIS 7400, CIL v 5172 = IIS 8553 - woman later freed, CIL ix 888 - plus slave son. Westermann op.cit. chl2, Balsdon RW chl1(3), B.Rawson Family life among the lower classes at Rome CPh lxi 1966 p71.
97. Petr. 57, CIL vi 2584 = IIS 2049, CIL vi 8604 = IIS 1519, IIS 7063 (Brit.). Treggiari op.cit. ch6(1).
98. CIL i 2527.

## NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 99 - CHAPTER EIGHT 103

99. CIL vi 8570 = IIS 1517 - set up by slave son to freed father, CIL ix 2472 = IIS 6519 - set up to his freed father and free-born brother by a slave and his conserua, CIL x 4300 - set up by a slave to his freed wife and slave daughter. Other types of partial freedom in the slave family: CIL ix 4112 = IIS 4381 (AD 172) - public slave and freedwoman of the town and their son freedman of the town. Cf Gaius i 19 - iusta ... causa manumissionis to free members of natural family.
100. Val. Max. vi 7<sup>1</sup> - slave mistress of Scipio Africanus the Elder freed to marry a freedman, CIL v 5172 = IIS 8553 - concubinae siue seruae siue libertae, CIL vi 7788 = IIS 8219 - freedwoman to her patrono et coniugi.
101. Plaut. Persa 768-770.
102. CIL vi 8571 = IIS 1515 - pater filio, CIL vi 8572 = IIS 1523 - parentes filio, CIL vi 9520 = IIS 7401 - mater f(ilio), CIL vi 22473 - slave to slave daughter, CIL vi 17313 = IIS 8487 - master & parentes infanti, CIL vi 17194 - slave parents filis, CIL vi 26704 = IIS 8493 - to baby girl slave, CIL viii 12652 (Carth.) - slave given funeral by filio, CIL viii 12613 = IIS 1680 (Carth.) - freedman to ser. parentibus who lived to 102 and 80!, CIL viii 3288 (Num.) - Aug. uerna to alumna, CIL viii 24687 (Carth.) - slave to slave alumnus, CIL viii 12879 (Carth.) - freedman to slave alumnus, CIL ix 6281 = IIS 7671 - pater to son, CIL ix 3318 = IIS 7430 - pater, mater & soror to slave girl, CIL x 7822 - free son to slave father, CIL x 4300 - slave to slave matri, freed coniugi and slave filiae, CIL x 26 = IIS 8438 - pater to daughter, CIL x 1495 - slave and free son to free wife/mother, IIS 8529a (Maur.) - mater to slave daughter nuptura. Siblings: CIL vi 8434 = IIS 1523 - slave to twin brother, CIL vi 8795 = IIS 1809 - imp. slave fratri, CIL vi 7283 - slave to brother, CIL vi 6371 = IIS 7424a - brothers and another slave to slave, IIS 1985 - slave to freed fratri. For husbands & wives see above n 92-93, 96-98.
103. CIL vi 8667 = IIS 1618 - slave woman to slave, CIL vi 6215 = IIS 7360 - husband and other slaves to woman, CIL vi 23817 = IIS 8413 - conserui to slave, CIL vi 6361-2, 6342, 6346 = IIS 7432 - to various slaves, CIL vi 23306 = IIS 4993a - slave for self, CIL vi 8905 = IIS 1841 - conseruos to woman, CIL vi 9730 = IIS 7419 (1BC) - to slave woman, CIL vi 7307 - slave suae woman, CIL vi 7285 - conseruus to slave girl,

NOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT 103 contd. - CHAPTER EIGHT 104

- 103 contd. CIL viii 1027 = ILS 1710 (Carth.) - slave for self, CIL viii 12918 (Carth.) - slave woman to fellow slave, CIL 12653-4 (Carth.) - to slave, CIL x 25 - slave woman for self and conseruus, CIL x 26 = ILS 8438 - slave father and conseruus to slave woman de permissu domini, CIL x 1935 = ILS 7841d (10BC) - slave conseruae. Rawson op.cit.
104. CIL ii 1980 = ILS 3604 (Baet.) - freedman and uilicus dedicate Lar, Genius and shrine, CIL ii 4082 = ILS 3605 (Tarr.) - two slaves' dedication to Lares and Genius of paterfamilias, CIL iii 1306 (Dac.) - two slaves Deo Silumio (= Siluano) domestico, CIL iii 4433 (Pann.) - slave Siluano domestico, CIL vi 68 = ILS 3513 - Bonae Deae agresti ... ob luminibus restitutis, CIL vi 74 = ILS 3507 - slave and free family Bonae Deae nutrici, CIL vi 7283 - set up by slave sac. deum Pen. to slave brother sac. Pen., CIL ix 4112 = ILS 4381 (AD 172) - signa Serapis et Isidis etc. put up by public slave and freed family permittente ordine, CIL xi 3199 = ILS 3481 - 5 altars Feroniae put up by imp. slave, CIL xi 5374 - 2 slaves Ianipatri, CIL xi 5375 = ILS 3039 - Ioui Paganico ... aedem etc. put up by public slave ex indulgentia dominorum. Delian inscriptions show many offerings by slaves: Bulard RD chl8, and see also chl2; Bömer URS i A ch2-3.